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APRIL, 1961

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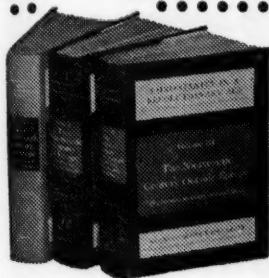
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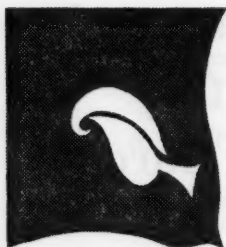
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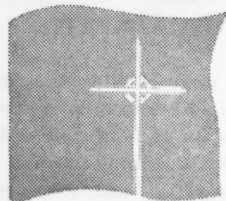
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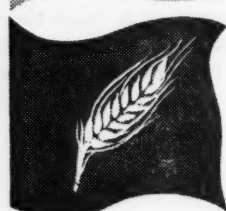
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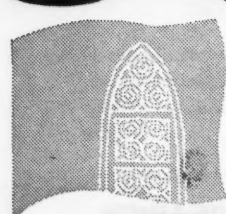
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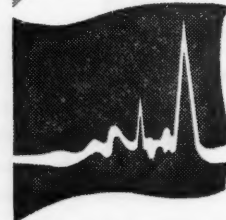
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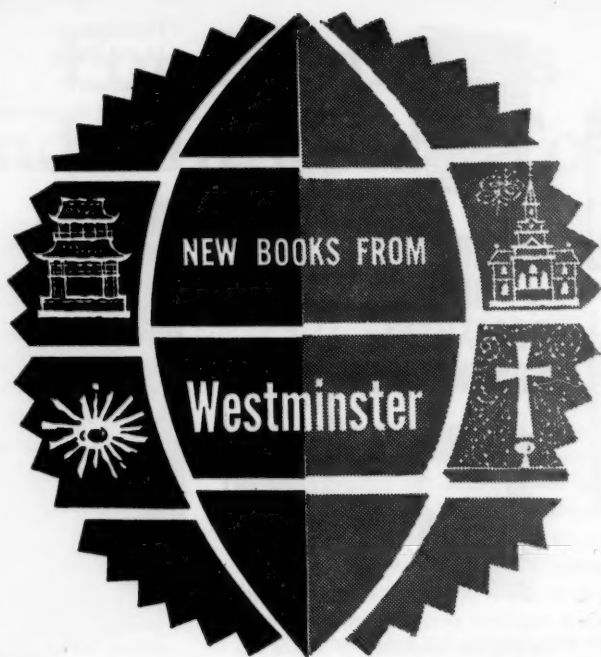
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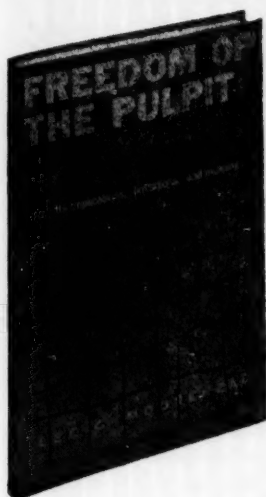
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Editorial Introduction

The accounts of many archaeological discoveries in recent years create in our minds visions of adventure, fame, and fortune. Oftentimes the adventuresome element has been the fantastic projection of the pen of uninformed and publicity-seeking reporters. For when one knows the complete story, one sees the scientific investigation of a thorough-trained archaeologist backed by years of personal deprivation and discomfort as he gathers the facts and artifacts. More hours of fruitless search are recorded than moments of thrilling uncovering of priceless remains. Dr. Joseph Callaway interprets the history and technique of a digging archaeologist.

Archaeology is attaining a system of scientific methods and therefore is producing a better oriented body of information. But when an archaeologist has discovered a collection of potsherds, buildings, walls, roads, or manuscripts, the work has only begun actually. All of these material remains must be related properly to all other discoveries and historical information. Then the long process of evaluation, cross-checking, and interpretation begins. Mr. Murray Nicol, a 1958 graduate of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and now a Ph.D. candidate in the University of Pennsylvania, demonstrates the vast amount of archaeological information which is available on the site of Jericho with all its attendant problems. He shows graphically the many intricate avenues which must be travelled.

After the collection of physical remains, there must be an evaluation of the relation of these remains to each other and also of all these finds to similar ones in other localities. In addition to the logical and chronological relationships there will be philosophical, biological, and theological factors. Once the theological aspect is brought in, there arises another myriad of opinions and interpretations. Dr. Jerry Vardaman investigates the avenues which are developing in the comparatively recent discoveries of the "Dead Sea Scrolls". This approach is not that of one particular site but is of one series of literary discoveries.

Another collection of literary materials is the Nag Hamadi materials. This area of investigation has vast overtones of theological intricacies. Dr. William Hull contributes a thorough study of the Gnostic Library with its archaeological history and its religious implications.

* * * *

It is with pleasure that the Review & Expositor continues the policy of printing the professorial inaugural address of the faculty of Southern Seminary. In this address Dr. Robert Proctor makes an incisive investigation of the modern learning theories.

Biblical Archaeology

BY JOSEPH A. CALLAWAY

To the average person, archaeology means adventure if it means anything. It often comes to public attention through sensational accounts of archaeological discoveries. For instance, one year ago a man who is neither Biblical scholar nor archaeologist reported to the press that he had located the Biblical cities of Sodom and Gomorrah underneath the waters of the Dead Sea. Immediately, normally responsible newspapers spread the story around the world in banner headlines.¹ Why did they accept this story uncritically? Because this is the stuff of which adventure is made: the Bible and archaeology.

This public image is misleading because there is a serious dimension to Biblical archaeology which makes it a true discipline. This dimension is rapidly becoming prominent in popular books which, it is hoped, will elicit more respect for the field of study. On the following pages is a study of the aspects of Biblical archaeology which make it an academic discipline.

What is Biblical Archaeology?

Archaeology has been aptly defined as "... the scientific study of material remains from ancient life."² Biblical archaeology is that branch of Near Eastern archaeology which is chiefly concerned with those discoveries that relate to and bear upon Biblical studies. As Barrois notes, it is that area of archaeological study which is useful or necessary for understanding the "texte sacre."³

Obviously, Biblical archaeology is not one of the traditional Biblical disciplines. Its genealogy is found outside the Bible. Instead, it is one of the sciences which has been adopted by Biblical studies and invited to share in the sacred inheritance. One is somewhat embarrassed when he inquires

1. On April 29, 1960, the Louisville, Ky., *Courier-Journal* carried this headline, "Biblical Cities Reported Found Under Dead Sea." Ten days later, *Newsweek* (May 9, 1960) reported with tongue in cheek, "After a dive last week, . . . claimed he had found. . . ."

2. Millar Burrows, *What Mean These Stones*, p. 8.

3. A. G. Barrois, *Manuel d'Archeologie biblique*, I, 1.

into the origins of Biblical archaeology, because its beginning was quite by accident and somewhat stained with dishonor.

A few days before Christmas, 1853, Hormuzd Rassam, a Chaldean Christian associated with the Englishman, Layard, was digging at the site of ancient Nineveh. He received word that a French expedition, working on the same mound with permission of Rassam's British superiors, was about to break into a significant-appearing building. For three nights Rassam secretly worked in the French diggings with trusted workmen, and on the third night broke into the ancient library of the Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal (668-626 B.C.).⁴ His questionable action has been called "unscrupulous" by the French⁵ and "inopportune" by the English,⁶ but 24,000 clay tablets were taken from Nineveh to the British Museum in London.

In 1872, George Smith, a British Museum cataloguer, was classifying the clay tablets when he accidentally noticed that one mentioned a ship coming to rest on the mountains of Nizir. He read further that a dove was sent forth from the ship and, finding no resting place, returned to the ship.⁷ Immediately Smith realized that he had discovered an extra-Biblical account of the Deluge. When his discovery was published,⁸ Biblical scholarship was shaken momentarily, but it soon regained its composure and said to archaeology as Moses said to Hobab, ". . . Come thou with us and we will do thee good. . ." (Num. 10:29).

The subject matter of Biblical archaeology was soon brought into focus. Champollion had deciphered Egyptian hieroglyphics on the Rosetta Stone and Rawlinson had learned Akkadian from the Behistun inscription.⁹ With the research tools of these languages in hand, an intensive effort was made to learn the secrets of the ancient Near Eastern

4. Hormuzd Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, p. 24, cited in Seton Lloyd, *Foundations in the Dust*, pp. 167f.

5. See Andre Parrot, *Discovering Buried Worlds*, p. 44.

6. Seton Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 155, attributes this expression to C. J. Gadd.

7. A translation of the entire tablet is in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, J. B. Pritchard, editor, pp. 93-97. Note lines 146ff., p. 94.

8. George Smith, "The Chaldean Account of the Deluge," a paper read before the British Society of Biblical Archaeology, December 3, 1872, cited in A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*, p. 2.

9. Among others, see G. Ernest Wright, *Biblical Archaeology*, pp. 20f.

world. Along the Mesopotamian valley, in Syria, Palestine and Asia Minor, the great cultures of Biblical and pre-Biblical times lay buried in tells, or mounds of debris, which remained from the ancient cities. People known only by name were there: the Hittites, Horites, Amorites, Canaanites. Against the contemporary scene of their history and culture, the drama of God's revelation was wrought out. To recover this contemporary scene would add a new dimension to an understanding of the revelation. Biblical archaeology was given the responsibility of raising from dusty oblivion to living memory this background of the Biblical world.

The Objectives of Biblical Archaeology

In 1865 the Palestine Exploration Fund was organized for the purpose of studying Biblical backgrounds in Palestine. Its objective was defined as "the accurate and systematic investigation of the archaeology, the topography, the geology and physical geography, the manners and customs of the Holy Land, for Biblical illustration."¹⁰ Dr. Kathleen Kenyon notes that the essence of the objective is in the last two words. To achieve this objective, archaeology was to be allied with the sciences of geology, botany, zoology, meteorology, sociology, theology, psychology, and geography. At the time of the statement of this objective, archaeology was no more than *primus inter pares* among these sciences, but it later rose to a dominant position of leadership toward realizing the original objective.

Until the beginning of the present century, the Palestine Exploration Fund was the only organized group which excavated in Palestine.¹¹ Beginning in 1902, an Austrian expedition directed by Sellin began work at Taanach, supported by the newly organized Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft. The first American expedition was to Samaria in 1908, directed by D. G. Lyon, who was followed by G. A. Reisner and C. S. Fisher. Their expedition, sponsored by Harvard University, had the blessing of the newly organized Ameri-

10. See Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, p. 17.

11. R. A. S. Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine*, pp. 13-75, and W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, pp. 23-48, trace this history.

can School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, although the school was at that time struggling to find its own way.

Since the American School of Oriental Research developed into a significant instrument of training and research,¹² its objective must be considered alongside the one stated by the Palestine Exploration Fund. It was founded "to promote the study and teaching and to extend the knowledge of Biblical literature and of geography, history, archaeology, and ancient and modern languages and literatures of Palestine, Mesopotamia and other Oriental countries, . . . by the prosecution of original research, excavation and exploration."¹³ Through the years, major interest in the American School shifted to archaeological excavation, and, like the British School of Archaeology, associated with the Palestine Exploration Fund, the objective of gaining an understanding and exposition of the Bible became the primary objective of Biblical archaeology.¹⁴

One could not find more noble objectives than those which have guided archaeological research. However, the story of implementing these objectives is not as attractive as one could desire. This brings up the matter of secondary objectives, that is, the development of research tools with which the primary objectives could be achieved. Whatever battles have been fought in Biblical archaeology have been fought here and the greatest enemy that the youthful discipline had to face has been inexperience.

For instance, Lt. Warren (later Sir Charles) excavated near the city walls of ancient Jerusalem with a tunnel method.¹⁵ At that time there was no knowledge of pottery typology nor stratigraphy, and Warren had no research tools with which to date his findings. Consequently, he dated Herodian walls to the Solomonic period.¹⁶

12. For a history of the American School of Oriental Research, see J. A. Montgomery, "The Story of the School in Jerusalem," *AASOR*, VI, pp. 1-9.

13. Quoted by K. M. Kenyon, *Beginning in Archaeology*, pp. 190-191.

14. This is the essence of G. E. Wright's statement in *Biblical Archaeology*, p. 17.

15. J. Simon, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament*, pp. 70ff.; also see L. H. Vincent and P. M. A. Steve, *Jerusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 2/2, planche CXI ff.

16. See W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, p. 26.

Warren's lack of research tools was apparent to others who tried to excavate, and the need became more acute as more projects were undertaken. Interest was primarily in inscriptions because usually they contained literary references which fixed their context.¹⁷ However, the limited nature of research equipment meant a limited achievement of objective.

In 1890, Sir Flinders Petrie discovered the significance of pottery for determining chronology. He associated changing pottery styles with successive strata in the excavation of Tell el-Hesi,¹⁸ an ancient city of the Philistine plain mistakenly identified as Lachish by Petrie and Macalister.¹⁹ Petrie's successor at Tell el-Hesi, F. J. Bliss, unfortunately did not see the significance of publishing a correlation of pottery styles and identified strata, and Petrie's discovery made no significant improvement in dating strata until World War I forced operations in Palestine to cease.²⁰

The man of genius who appeared on the scene after World War I was W. F. Albright, who began a significant twenty-year period of research with the American School in 1920. His work at Tell Beit Mirsim from 1926-1934 was aimed at establishing a reliable pottery typology, and with the aid of his pupil, G. Ernest Wright, he achieved the goal in a significant way. Publication of the Tell Beit Mirsim pottery took pottery analysis from the level of oral tradition or secret art and made it available to any interested archaeologist.²¹ Since the type analysis covered only the period from Early Bronze III to Iron II,²² the period during which Tell Beit Mirsim was inhabited, Albright's typology needed

17. Archaeologists who searched primarily for inscribed materials were looked upon as belonging to "the old school" by those who learned the rudiments of pottery typology after Petrie and Bliss.

18. W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el-Hesi*, p. 40. Note the now classic statement, "And once settle the pottery of a country, and the key is in our hands for all future explorations."

19. See Macalister, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

20. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, p. 30, observes that "the archaeological chronology of Palestine was in some respects more obscure in 1914 than it had been two decades earlier."

21. Note Wright's remarks in "Archaeology and Old Testament Studies," *JBL*, LXXVII, (March 1958), pp. 39f. Albright, *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim, I*, p. xiv, acknowledges his immediate indebtedness to Pere Vincent and C. S. Fisher, under whom he learned "the elements of ceramic praxis" during the years 1920-22.

22. W. F. Albright, *The Excavations of Tell Beit Mirsim, I. The Pottery of the First Three Campaigns*, AASOR, XII.

complementary studies. Wright, in his doctoral dissertation, developed a pottery typology that spanned the period from Early Bronze back to the beginning of pottery manufacture.²³ Two pupils of Albright and Wright, Paul and Nancy Lapp, are preparing dissertations at Harvard and Johns Hopkins which will continue the pottery typology from Iron III through the first century A.D.²⁴

Besides his development of technical tools, Albright made a significant contribution in realizing an ultimate objective of Biblical archaeology. He brought the evidence of archaeological research to bear upon the assumption held by historical criticism that the Patriarchal and Mosaic periods were non-historical.²⁵ With characteristic vigor and resourcefulness, Albright gathered evidence which established a balance of probability that the traditions were essentially historical. His arguing from indirect evidence convinced many American scholars,²⁶ and the changed climate of critical studies in America today is a monument to his work.

His article entitled "The Ancient Near East and the Religion of Israel,"²⁷ followed by *From the Stone Age to Christianity* epitomizes the accomplishment of an ultimate objective of Biblical archaeology between World War I and II. There occurred a "rediscovery" of the Bible in America and abroad, and archaeology provided the scientific evidence which made possible the rediscovery. The distinguished Baptist scholar, H. H. Rowley, began his book, *The Rediscovery of the Old Testament* with two chapters on archaeology which to him illuminated "the cultural and religious background of the Old Testament."²⁸ Archaeology helped historical criticism assume a more constructive role as a Biblical discipline.

The ultimate objective of achieving the understanding and exposition of the Scriptures is evident in the work of

23. G. E. Wright, *The Pottery of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the End of the Early Bronze Age*, 1937.

24. Dr. Lapp is Annual Professor at the American School in Jerusalem and is scheduled to stay three more years as Director.

25. W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 2.

26. Representative is the work of Albright's pupil, John Bright, in *A History of Israel*, and his "prolegomena" to the history, *Early Israel in Recent History Writing*.

27. See JBL, LIX, (1940), pp. 85-112.

28. H. H. Rowley, *The Rediscovery of the Old Testament*, p. 42.

Israeli archaeologists associated with the Hebrew University in Jerusalem,²⁹ although Israeli nationalism seems to peer over the shoulders of much current Jewish scholarship.³⁰ Roman Catholic archaeologists associated with the Ecole biblique³¹ and Pontifical Biblical Institute³² share in the same objective because they have an academic lineage that includes both Pere Vincent and Albright. There is not enough difference in the objectives of these groups and the American School objective to merit further discussion of it.

However, the British School of Archaeology, led by Dr. Kathleen Kenyon, has developed different techniques for obtaining archaeological evidence. In pursuing the ultimate objective of understanding the background of the Bible, a highly effective technique of stratigraphic excavation has been developed which recovers more historical and cultural evidence from the debris of a tell than the pre-World War II methods recovered.³³

For instance, microscopic pollen grains are analyzed for evidence of the kinds of trees and density of growth in different periods. Also, bones are carefully studied, identified, and analyzed for a construction of domestic and wild animal usage by man in the various historical periods. In short, a more careful examination of stratigraphy and debris is made in an effort to recover all possible evidence that might bear upon the history and culture of the people being studied.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the ultimate objective of the various schools of archaeology which do field work in Palestine can be subsumed under the statement of Wright, i.e., to achieve an understanding and exposition of the Scripture. However, there is less unanimity in the secondary objectives which are means to the ultimate objective.

29. Reports from this group are published in the *Israel Exploration Journal* and numerous symposium type books.

30. Compare Nelson Glueck's *Rivers in the Desert* with his earlier *The Other Side of the Jordan*. For a more transparent bias, see M. Avi-Yonah's *Jerusalem*, 1960.

31. The *Revue biblique* carries reports of this noted group of scholars, of whom Pere de Vaux is a leader.

32. See *Orientalia* for reports and scholarly papers.

33. This method is analyzed and discussed in K. M. Kenyon, *Beginning in Archaeology* and Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Archaeology from the Earth*. The British School publishes reports in the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*.

The American school has majored on pottery typology and minored on stratigraphic technique while the London school³⁴ has majored on stratigraphic technique and minored on pottery typology. Consequently, the secondary objective of technique development is receiving major interest today, and it may be that the friendly competition between schools will result in the adoption of the best that each has to offer and that it will hasten the realization of the ultimate objective.

The Theory of Biblical Archaeology

"Acceptable field work can perhaps be done in a theoretical vacuum, but integration and interpretation without theory are inconceivable,"³⁵ said an American archaeologist. Archaeology is a discipline which is governed by rules and methodology that insure accurate and economical work. Usually these rules are implicit in the work of the excavator if they are not explicit. However, there is a need for an explicit, articulated theory which can provide the conceptual grounding of an adequate and consistent methodology, because confusion in both methodology and interpretation usually develops when theory is implicit or absent.

Because archaeology has been associated with various historical disciplines, it has usually participated in the theory of the related discipline and no coherent theory of archaeology as such has been formulated.³⁶ In the study of Indian cultures of North and Central America, archaeology has served as a research tool of cultural anthropology. W. W. Taylor says that the discipline of cultural anthropology took responsibility for this field of study because the subject matter was a non-literate culture.³⁷ On the other hand,

34. In view of the fact that Miss Kenyon's method of controlled stratigraphic excavation originated with General Pitt Rivers and was improved by Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Miss Kenyon, it is more accurate to speak of it as the "London school" method. Professor Rowley suggested this name.

35. Gordon R. Willey and Philip Phillips, *Method and Theory in American Archaeology*, p. 1.

36. A critical study of American archaeology has been made by W. W. Taylor, *A Study of Archaeology*, and in this study, a coherent theory has been proposed. However, it is developed for archaeology in the Americas, in the light of contemporary research on Indian culture. No such study has been made of Biblical or Near Eastern archaeology.

37. W. W. Taylor, *A Study of Archaeology*, pp. 25f. See also Willey and Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

Biblical archaeology has been associated with history more than anthropology. Because its subject matter was literate cultures, the discipline of history assumed a major role in ancient Near Eastern research, and archaeology became "the handmaid of history."

Because of these relationships archaeology has worked within the conceptual frameworks of anthropology and history. This is legitimate. But has the conceptual framework, or theory, been adequately worked out so that the role of archaeology is clear and consistent?

In answering this question, it is necessary to set anthropology and history in their proper relationship to each other and then to define the basic role of archaeology as an integral part of the related discipline. Obviously, both disciplines are concerned with man's past. The historian is interested in events and movements of the past and he seeks to recover these events and their meaning. He can never reconstruct the actual event, but he can construct from evidence his idea of the event. He constructs his idea of history, which is historiography. The data for this construction may be gathered from literature or from archaeological research.

The cultural anthropologist is interested primarily in the intellectual achievements of man, which is one step removed from history. His goal is to construct from the religion, art, history, architecture, etc., the ideas and ideals of man.³⁸ Thus he does not attempt to do the same task which the historian does, but he uses much of the same data.

During the nineteenth century, Herbert Spencer's idea that Darwin's theory of biological evolution had an analogue in the cultural history of man dominated anthropology.³⁹ Basically this theory presupposed that uniform modes of thinking were to be found among all peoples at similar stages of psychological development.

Franz Boas modified this "evolutionary" approach to anthropology by demonstrating that patterns of thinking are uniform only in culture areas and that the group-psychology of a culture plays a significant role in the emergent

38. W. W. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

39. H. F. Hahn, *Old Testament in Modern Research*, pp. 44ff., has excellent review of the anthropological approach to Old Testament study.

development of one culture over another.⁴⁰ Thus his "historical" approach to anthropology corrected the unrealistic theory of an evolutionary approach based upon a psychology of individualism which facts did not support.

Since thought patterns and culture in the Near East had indigenous development, the theory of archaeology developed by anthropological research for study of primitive American cultures cannot be adopted without modification by Near Eastern archaeologists. Therefore, W. W. Taylor's significant critical study of archaeology in the Americas does not meet the need for an adequate theory of Biblical archaeology. A conceptual structure for Near Eastern archaeology must be articulated in the light of the unique culture of the Near East and it must relate to the Biblical interpretation of its history.

Since archaeological research in the Near East has been associated primarily with the discipline of history, its theory will be complementary to the conceptual framework within which history is constructed from research data. Also, there are the pre-scientific interpretative constructs of history which were used in the ancient Near East with which the scientific construct of archaeological theory must be related. This peculiar problem which a theory of Biblical archaeology faces will be apparent if we note first the pre-scientific historical constructs with which it must work.

The oldest conceptual theory for constructing man's past is a mythological construct evident in the Babylonian *Enuma Elish* epic.⁴¹ There the past is structured in a succession history of the gods which links genealogically with the present, and source material is selected from written and unwritten traditions and organized into the framework.⁴² The same conceptual theory is seen in ancient historiographies, notably in the Sumerian King List.⁴³

In contrast to the mythological construct of history found in ancient Near Eastern literature, the Bible has a theological construct or interpretation of history. As Voegel-

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 74ff. Also, see F. Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 189.

41. E. A. Speiser, translator, "The Creation Epic" *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, J. B. Pritchard, editor, pp. 60ff.

42. *Ibid.*, lines 1-104.

43. A. Leo Oppenheim, translator, "The Sumerian King List," *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, J. B. Pritchard, editor, pp. 265-266.

lin noted, Israel made a conceptual exodus from ancient Near Eastern mythological interpretations of existence of which the physical exodus from Egypt is symbolic.⁴⁴ The physical exodus would have been meaningless without the conceptual exodus. As a result, Israel interpreted the past in a theological structure which is not mythology. Even Genesis 1-11 which has troubled many scholars who try to classify its literature is structured solidly in a theological interpretation of history which is not mythology.

For centuries, the theological construction of man's past was accepted as scientific and above examination. However, we are painfully aware of the struggle that occurred when intellectually curious men began to realize that the universe was not geocentric and that a non-documented antiquity not related in the Biblical account of man's origins existed. This discovery meant that science must abandon the theological construct of history as a scientific theory and accept it for what it is: a theological interpretation of history. Science constructed its own conceptual scheme which is called evolution, and archaeology in its infant days was given evolutionary frames of reference which we know as Stone Age, Chalcolithic Age, Bronze Age, and Iron Age.⁴⁵ The basic construct has persisted, although modifications have been made within the reference categories.⁴⁶

The only serious effort to articulate a conceptual theory of ancient Near Eastern history in the light of archaeological research is W. F. Albright's "organismic philosophy of history" which has its analogue in the theory of emergent evolution.⁴⁷ In the sequence of history, Albright says there is no unilinear process such as Darwin proposed in biological evolution and Spencer proposed in cultural evolution. Rather, there are radical mutations, reverses, and progressions⁴⁸ more or less analogous to Boas' concept of cultural evolution according to culture⁴⁹ and in terms of societary

44. Eric Voegelin, *Israel and Revelation*, pp. x-xi, pp. 126ff.

45. K. M. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, p. 19.

46. *Idem.*

47. W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, pp. 82-126.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

49. F. Boas, *op. cit.*

organisms which Toynbee analyzes in his history of civilizations.⁵⁰

Albright's theory is not explicitly an archaeological theory, but it is implicit in his field work and interpretation. His pottery typology is built upon an evolutionary sequence which allows for the emergence of radical forms which indicate cultural changes. The same pattern is evident also in his studies of orthography and philology. Without articulating an archaeological theory, Albright has patterned his research around one, and it is the organismic philosophy which he uses for constructing a history from the Stone Age to Christianity.

A sound foundation for an adequate and consistent archaeological theory has been laid, but it has not been clearly related to excavation methods. These methods turn upon pottery typology and stratigraphic analysis, and to be reliable, the stratigraphic analysis must be as clearly reflected in archaeological theory as pottery typology is in Albright's work at Tell Beit Mirsim. His pottery from this excavation is obviously classified as a result of stratigraphic analysis, but he leaves in the publication only a guide to pottery types.⁵¹ This is the point at which constructive work is being done by the London school of professional archaeologists.

By way of summary, the thesis has been developed that archaeology in the ancient Near East must be grounded upon a conceptual basis relevant to its peculiar culture area and interests. It must deal with the pre-scientific historical constructs of mythology when it is related to non-Biblical literature and theology when it is related to the Bible. All of this must be done within the scientific construct of evolution within which archaeology works.

Consequently, the archaeologist must relate history which he interprets in the construct of evolution to history which the Bible interprets in the construct of theology. The province of archaeology ends with historical and literary evidence, and although it can confirm historical events and movements, it cannot and does not pretend to confirm the

50. Albright does not accept Toynbee's method of inductively studying the genesis and growth of "societies," but he does deal with history in terms of societary organisms, terms used by Toynbee.

51. The modern excavator must look elsewhere for guidance in stratigraphic techniques.

theological interpretation of history. Archaeological theory is a scientific theory and this fact immediately sets a limit at the edge of the Biblical revelation where empirical evidence ends and the Biblical interpretation of that evidence begins. The Bible demands that its interpretation of that evidence remain a matter of faith, not science.⁵²

Archaeological Method

It has been noted that one of the qualities of archaeological evidence is that of being "unconscious."⁵³ We look for things made by man which were not intended to convey historical evidence. They are accidental remains. To complicate further the search for evidence, the objects which remain are those which have withstood the ravages of time, decay, erosion, theft, or poor digging technique. Obviously, the material remains are only a small part of the culture that once existed, and they present at best a one-sided or incomplete picture of the past. For this reason, it is necessary to develop techniques and methods which will recover the maximum of information.

To understand why techniques have become complicated in the best modern methodology, it is well to review the way evidence is deposited in the *tell* originally. Most *tells* are situated on natural mounds which make possible easy fortification. The mounds are never level. Consequently, the layers of debris which are deposited with the decay or destruction of buildings and their consequent reconstruction are never level. As time passes, the layers multiply, the mound gets higher, and archaeological evidence is unconsciously left in the debris as it accumulates.

A scientific archaeological method requires that each layer, beginning with the topmost or latest in date, be stripped off until the earliest or lowest layer in the *tell* has been excavated. Each layer must be identified so that objects which belong to a particular layer will not be mixed with objects from another layer, because layers belong to a sequence in time. There is a sequence in the depositing of the layers of debris which must be preserved in the excavation

52. Within the broad limits of this concept of archaeological theory, an adequate theory of excavation is being worked out.

53. Stuart Piggott, *Approach to Archaeology*, p. 24.

so that the sequence can be fixed in a historical or cultural context.

There is agreement among archaeologists in the principle stated above,⁵⁴ and the logic of it is obvious to the non-specialist. But differences of opinion emerge when the technique for executing the principle in field work is attempted. If we disregard the earlier methods of tunneling and trenching as obsolete techniques, there are at least two major schools of thought today on how to go about the systematic removal of debris in a tell in an accurate and scientific way.

The older of the two methods was developed by C. S. Fisher and his colleagues at the Samaria excavation of 1908-1909.⁵⁵ G. A. Reisner contributed to the development of organization structure within which the method operates, and Fisher further refined the method in the excavation of Megiddo, beginning in 1925.⁵⁶ Explaining his procedure in excavating Megiddo, Fisher says that he first divided the site "into squares twenty-five meters on a side and oriented north and south. These squares are pegged out over the area to be excavated. The corners are designated by letters and numbers in regular sequence, and references to any square are according to the number of its northeast peg, as R 13, etc."⁵⁷

Once the twenty-five meter squares have been plotted on the topographical map and pegged out on the site, excavation is begun by gangs of workers who dig in specified squares. " . . . The pickmen of the gang, usually numbering four to six selected men, work in line across the width of the square They break up the surface soil to a depth of about 30 cm. Behind them follow double the number of scrapers or fillers, who break up the clods of earth, carefully watching for fragments of pottery and other objects. After examining the earth, they load it into baskets and pass them

54. See W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, p. 17; C. S. Fisher, *The Excavation of Armageddon*, pp. 26f.; K. M. Kenyon, *Beginning in Archaeology*, pp. 68f.

55. Publication of the excavation reports did not appear until 1924, and the excavation method was not widely known until the Samaria reports appeared.

56. Fisher explains in detail his excavation method in *The Excavation of Armageddon*. This method was used at Megiddo and most other American school related projects until World War II. This is basically the method W. F. Albright used at Tell Beit Mirsim.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

to a long line of women, boys, and girls,"⁵⁸ who dispose of the debris. When the pickmen, followed by the fillers, remove "one depth of earth," i.e., 30 cm., they return "to their first positions and repeat the operation on another 30 cm. of soil."⁵⁹

When the tops of walls appear, the method of removing systematically arbitrary depths of earth is changed, and "the pickmen are distributed over the squares and begin to follow the walls down to a pavement level. Rooms at once receive regular numbers, such as I 15, which would indicate that this room was the fifteenth found in the first or topmost stratum."⁶⁰

Objects found above floor surfaces are labeled by room number, but are used with caution because only objects found on the floor can definitely be associated with the building.

All objects found are recorded accurately according to room number or if not found in a room, according to depth from the surface of the *tell*. By studying pottery types which have been distinguished in other excavations, strata are assigned to the excavation on the basis of pottery analysis and other objects found. Buildings are assigned to strata on the same basis.

The other method, developed by the London school, is basically a technique for controlled stratigraphic removal of the layers of debris which recognizes the layers as they were deposited. Dr. Kenyon says that "the two main principles of excavation are the observation of the different layers of soil, including any disturbances affecting them, and the interpretation of their relationship to any structure."⁶¹ The objective is to identify objects with the layers in which they were deposited, and to keep the layer intact on the field record. Also, structures, if they do not have inscriptions or some distinctive style, "can only be dated by reference to associated levels, therefore the relationship must be established beyond doubt. The absolute depth from the surface

58. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

60. *Idem.* This method makes no provision for leaving balks between squares from which sections can be drawn and stratigraphic analysis made.

61. K. M. Kenyon, *Beginning in Archaeology*, p. 75.

of an object means nothing, unless that can be associated with a defined layer of soil. . .⁶²

To execute these principles, the excavator lays out a grid system of squares which will be excavated. A convenient size of the square has been suggested as five meters, because all digging must be constantly supervised, and to spread the effort over a larger square would mean less supervision of the laborers.⁶³ On the grid system, one-meter balks are laid out between the squares and they are left for a record of the stratification when the five-meter squares are excavated. Thus, there is a checker pattern of balks bounding all the squares being excavated.

The key to accurate removal of layers of debris is the control trench which is dug in every five-meter square. Before excavation of the square is undertaken, a one-meter strip along one side of the square is dug to a depth of at least one meter.⁶⁴ This debris is carefully removed, but it is considered to be unreliable for evidence and essentially is a sacrifice of 20% of the square to insure exact interpretation of the remaining 80%. When the trench is cleared, its walls are carefully studied after they have dried, and stratification lines are identified in the side of the trench and labeled with tags.⁶⁵ This is the key point of the excavation procedure because the layers are identified before they are removed in the 80% of the square that is left.

Once the identification of the layers is completed, one man, who uses a small hand pick and mason's trowel, loosens the first or topmost layer of debris down to the line which separates it from the next layer. One or two fillers work through the debris for pottery and objects and then pass on the baskets of earth to basket boys who remove it to the dump. A supervisor watches the small staff excavate and helps the pickman follow the natural stratification line. Thus, there is adequate supervision and controlled removal of the layers according to their exact line of separation. Pot-

62. *Idem.*

63. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Archaeology from the Earth*, pp. 82 ff., discusses the technique of area-excavation by squares.

64. When the remainder of the square is excavated to this depth, the control trench is sunk deeper to provide the key to further excavation.

65. K. M. Kenyon, *Beginning in Archaeology*, p. 125.

tery and other objects are used for dating layers, but the cardinal principle is controlled stratigraphy.

When buildings are encountered in the grid system, secondary balks are left inside the five-meter squares so that a balk is left standing at right angles to the wall of the structure.⁶⁶ The balk leaves a cross section of the debris inside rooms, and it preserves the floors that go with the wall being uncovered. This is important because there may be several floors but one wall, and the structure would be dated with the earliest floor, not the latest. The balk thus establishes a stratigraphic link between the wall, its floors, and the main control balks so that the structure can be associated with its proper layers of debris.

It is obvious that the London school method of excavation is a more precise method than the Fisher method. Some archaeologists have expressed the opinion that it is too slow, or it takes too much interest in debris.⁶⁷ Admittedly it is slow and one supervisor may work for a whole season in one five-meter square and dig only three meters deep. But it is the best and most scientific method for removal of debris. And when one considers that excavation destroys for all time the evidence of an ancient tell, would it not be better to remove less of the tell and recover 75% of the available evidence than to remove more and recover only 40% of the evidence?⁶⁸

Present day excavators are asking this question, and it is encouraging to see that the London school techniques are being adopted here and there.⁶⁹ However, there are others who still prefer to use the basic Fisher method because it speeds up the excavation and produces more results for the money expended. Notable among the latter are some French archaeologists who make careers of excavating whole cities.⁷⁰ There will come a time when archaeologists have even better research techniques than the

66. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

67. Note the remarks of G. E. Wright, "Archaeology and Old Testament Studies," *JBL*, LXXVII, (March, 1958), pp. 41f.

68. These percentage figures are my estimates.

69. H. J. Franken, "The Excavations at Deir 'Alla in Jordan,'" VI, (October 1960), p. 387, noted that his expedition adopted the London school method.

70. Examples are Pere de Vaux who is excavating Tirzah, or Andre Parrot at Mari.

London school method, and it will be tragic to find that great sites like Tirzah, Ugarit, Byblos, Mari and others have been largely destroyed and only a relatively small percentage of the total evidence was recovered.

Today there is a general recognition of the need to develop better excavation methods and the London school method is being either adopted or adapted to other methods. The Fisher method is now inadequate for scientific excavation. However, it made its contribution between World Wars I and II, and the assets that it developed, notably pottery typology, are quite compatible with the newer controlled stratigraphic techniques.

Conclusion

Biblical archaeology is a science which has been adopted as a Biblical study, although it remains a scientific instead of theological discipline. Its objective is to recover the contemporary scene of the Biblical world in which the Biblical revelation was wrought out in history. Thus, it seeks to recover the history and culture of the Biblical world. However, it constructs this context of history and culture in an evolutionary framework, since evolution is the scientific construct of history. Evidence from which the history and culture are constructed is gathered by scientifically developed excavation techniques and interpreted according to scientifically constructed typological references.

When archaeological evidence is used for the exposition and understanding of the Scriptures, the nature and limitations of this evidence should be kept in mind because the Biblical revelation is a theological interpretation of the history and culture of its world in the light of the covenant relationship. Archaeology can take one into the historical, cultural, and religious context of the Bible, but it must stand at a distance from the revelation because this is the realm of faith, not science, of theology, not archaeology.

Archaeology and the Fall of Jericho

BY MURRAY B. NICOL

"... take a look at the land, especially Jericho. . ."
Joshua 2:1

Geography of the Site

Tell es-Sultan, the modern Arabic name for Old Testament Jericho, lies 900 feet below sea level along the road which runs from Jerusalem, through Jericho, and across the Jordan River up to the Plateau of Rabboth Amon.¹ The life of Jericho has always been sustained by the perennial spring which flows down from the Judaeen hills into the flat, dead white plain surrounding the oasis in the fields of Jericho. The site of the ancient city lies at the western edge of the modern oasis, separated by only a few hundred yards from the ultimate foot-hills of the Mountains of Judah, which form the western wall of el-Ghor. In this setting, the winds are so warmed by their descent into the plain that the summer months are unbearable. The control of the plain and especially Jericho was important to the invader, because of its strategic setting along one of the main routes from the desert into coastal Palestine. Thus, the importance of Jericho's walls reaches back into a period earlier than Joshua.

Excavations At Jericho

The first expedition sent to Jericho was under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1867. The leader of this expedition, Captain Charles Warren, drove a shaft down twenty feet at the south end of the tell, in which charred timber was encountered at ten feet. His shaft was actually driven into the core of the massive Early Bronze Age town wall. Since archaeological technique was then in its infancy, it is not surprising that Warren's conclusion stated that there was nothing more to be discovered at the site.² He did not even know he had hit a wall.

1. See G. E. Wright; F. V. Filson, *The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible*, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1945), Plate IV, p. 32.

2. C. Warren, *Notes on the Valley of the Jordan and Excavations at Ain es-Sultan*, 1869.

The next excavations were carried out by an Austro-German expedition under L. Sellin and T. Watzinger between 1907 and 1909. Unfortunately for this expedition, the dating of Palestinian pottery had not yet been put on a firm basis, and in spite of the meticulously carried out standards of the day and the elaborately published report of the findings,³ the successive remains of buildings were entirely erroneously ascribed.

Between 1930 and 1936 another major expedition under John Garstang of Liverpool University was sent to Jericho. For the first time the pottery found could be related generally in accordance with modern knowledge; therefore the history of the site could be fitted into the general picture of Palestinian archaeology. According to the excavation reports published by Garstang,⁴ the site revealed four city walls or ramparts with a trace of a fifth Iron Age wall.⁵ On the eastern slope of the *tell* fifty-eight palace storerooms were cleared; which Garstang said were constructed and stocked at the beginning of the Hyksos period (ca. 1700 B.C.) and continued until the end of *tell* occupation.⁶ Since most of the pottery he found came from the Middle Bronze Age, but covering more or less the whole range from Early Bronze to the Late Bronze Age,⁷ Garstang relied upon two tomb 4 scarabs to date the end of *tell* occupation at ca. 1400 B.C.⁸ A "Middle Building"⁹ was also found by Garstang which he attributed to Eglon, king of Moab during the Iron Age (Judges 3:10-14), but which he describes as falling ca. 1400 B.C. (Late Bronze Age)!¹⁰ Garstang's most important discovery, however, was the remains of a Neolithic Period

3. L. Sellin and T. Watzinger, *Jericho: Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen* (Leipzig, 1913). Especially commendable are the well drawn cross sections shown in the report (cf. p. 57), and the attempt to tie the history of the site to the actual excavation findings (pp. 171-190).

4. J. Garstang, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Vols. XIX-XXII (1932-1935).

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX (1932), p. 4.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX (1933), p. 41.

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX (1932), p. 36.

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX (1932), p. 37; also *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1941, p. 170. Garstang seems to have relied upon Rowe's dating of Beth-Shan IX; which was later proved too high by W. F. Albright.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI (1934), p. 105; p. 111.

10. Garstang, *P.E.Q.*, 1941, p. 170.

at a deep level in the tell.¹¹ In spite of the fact that Garstang's dating of the Jericho walls is completely inaccurate,¹² his work at Jericho stands as a forerunner to modern scientific archaeological excavation.

Since 1936, work on other sites in Palestine has constantly changed our knowledge and understanding of both Old Testament historical and archaeological problems. With the introduction of the latest archaeological techniques into Palestine by Miss K. M. Kenyon¹³ as head of the joint British expedition,¹⁴ excavation was again resumed at Jericho between 1952 and 1958. For the purpose of this paper, we are interested in what Miss Kenyon found in the Middle Bronze Age, the Late Bronze Age, and Iron Age I, since we shall see most scholars would date the entry of Joshua into Canaan about the middle of the thirteenth century B.C. Before describing the archaeological ages as found at Jericho, a disturbing factor must be described. This factor is climatic conditions in the Jericho plain beginning in the sixth century B.C. From evidence on the tell, great rain-water gulleys have cut into the summit and sides of the tell, sweeping the topmost occupational levels down the side. Along with the rain-water gulleys, the strong winds which sweep down from the Judaeian hills on the west have had their part in a major denudation of the entire summit.

Because of this tremendous erosion at the site, Miss Kenyon finds that at only one point (the north-west corner of the summit) does the full height of the Middle Bronze Age defenses survive.¹⁵ Elsewhere, the erosion has gone far below the Middle Bronze Age level, except on the lower eastern side of the tell, where only miserable fragments of the Late Bronze Age houses survive.¹⁶ Even the houses of the

11. Garstang, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXII (1935), p. 143. He mistakenly called this period Chalcolithic.

12. For Garstang's latest statement see *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, Vol. 58 (1941), pp. 368-372.

13. These methods were suggested previously by Sir Mortimer Wheeler, and used outside Palestine with great success.

14. The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem; The Palestine Exploration Fund; The British Academy in collaboration with The American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem.

15. K. M. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1960), pp. 210f.

16. K. M. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jericho* (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1957), p. 261.

certainly populous¹⁷ Middle Bronze Age city have vanished.¹⁸ The palace storerooms uncovered by Garstang proved to have been destroyed at the same time as Tell Beit Mirsim D, or ca. 1580-1550 B.C. and were not reoccupied until some 150 years after their destruction.¹⁹

When we turn to the northern cemetery tombs for prospective help in the sequence dating, we find that the pottery and material remains stop at the end of Middle Bronze II (ca. 1550 B.C.), with evidence of multiple burnings.²⁰ Furthermore, true transitional pottery from the Middle Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age I (ca. 1550-1500 B.C.) is not found in either the tombs or on the *tell*.²¹

In spite of the fact that the decay and denudation of the upper levels could spread Middle Bronze Age pottery down the slope into levels where later pottery forms appeared,²² Miss Kenyon through exacting stratigraphic techniques was able to determine that occupation at Jericho existed on a large scale from the late Early Bronze Age down to the destruction of the palace storerooms ca. 1550 B.C., i.e., till the time of a re-assertion of Egyptian control under Dynasty XVIII.²³

Having discussed and delimited chronologically the surface bulk of the *tell*, the problem still remains concerning what happened after the Middle Bronze Age destruction. Above the Middle Bronze Age wall, discussed above, no wall remains.²⁴ Thus, to answer the question of Joshua's Jericho we must be content to examine pottery and other material remains. Unfortunately, over most of the area which was excavated on the west side of the mound, a thick layer of burning above the Middle Bronze Age buildings is the highest surviving level.²⁵ Actually this burnt layer is the remains of erosion which belongs to the period of *tell* abandonment, dating ca. 1560-1400 B.C. Above this burnt fill level, the only remains found were a small oven with a

17. *Ibid.*

18. K. M. Kenyon, *P.E.Q.*, 1951, p. 102.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 113; p. 117.

20. Kenyon, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 119ff.

25. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jericho*, p. 281.

juglet of the fourteenth century beside it. These two finds were on a one meter square floor. The rest of the floor level has disappeared.²⁶ In the cemetery area on the west side of the *tell*, the tombs seem to have been re-used between ca. 1400-1325 B.C.²⁷ Although dating evidence from pre-Kenyon excavation is negligible, those excavations did produce a certain amount of pottery along with the small jug, oven, and tomb finds mentioned above. The conclusion of such evidence is that the *tell* contained a town built over the Middle Bronze Age remains, and this town was inhabited from ca. 1400 to 1325 B.C.²⁸ Since none of the areas excavated by Miss Kenyon showed a trace of the comparatively well-known thirteenth century B.C. pottery forms,²⁹ she assumes that there is another gap in occupation on the *tell* beginning ca. 1325 B.C. This gap did not end until well into the Iron Age. Thus, the last Late Bronze Age settlement on the *tell*, and the only settlement with which one might possibly connect Joshua, is the settlement which was destroyed ca. 1350-1325 B.C.³⁰

The Relation of Jericho To Other Palestinian Sites

Although it is not the purpose of this paper to recount the various theories concerning the exodus of Israel under Moses and the eventual entrance into Canaan under Joshua, some relation must be made between the excavations at Jericho and at other Palestinian sites. To this purpose, the following paragraphs will give the highlight of the various theories and excavations in Palestine at sites which pertain to the entrance of Israel into Canaan.

In the Biblical account, Ai (et-Tell) was the second city to be destroyed after Jericho (see Joshua 8:1-29). This site was excavated between 1933 and 1935 by Madame Marquet-Krause. Unfortunately Madame Marquet-Krause died before she could make a full publication of her results, and the volume recording the work is little more than that of

26. Kenyon, *P.E.Q.*, 1954, p. 61.

27. *Op. cit.*, pp. 260f.

28. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, p. 211.

29. Kenyon, *P.E.Q.*, 1951, p. 121.

30. Kenyon, *P.E.Q.*, 1954, p. 61; *Digging Up Jericho*, p. 262.

an undigested field register.³¹ The excavations show, however, that the site was abandoned at the end of the Early Bronze Age, and was not reoccupied until the Iron Age. The problem of Ai, since there is no Israelite destruction level, has been discussed by Albright,³² Noth,³³ Lods,³⁴ and Dussaud.³⁵ The most logical conclusion of the problem is that, since Ai is situated only a mile and a half from Bethel, the tradition behind the writer of the Book of Joshua has shifted the scene of destruction from Bethel to Ai. In fact, the second phase of occupation at Bethel (14th-early 13th centuries B.C.) comes to an end with a terrific conflagration, leaving a deposit of as much as a meter and a half of debris; which is followed after a chronological break by an occupation of a much poorer sort.³⁶

Another of the sites attributed to the destruction by Joshua is Hazor (Joshua 10:10). The excavation at this site is still in progress under the direction of Y. Yadin, and only preliminary reports are available.³⁷ As far as the evidence so far available shows, there seems to have been a continuous occupation from Middle Bronze II on into the Late Bronze Age. Pottery from the site also would seem to include material later than that found at Jericho. Thus the evidence from this site would support a more gradual spread of Israelite power as is certainly attested by the account in the Book of Judges (Judges 4:2).

At Tell Beit Mirsim (equated with Kirjath-sepher or Debir³⁸) the Bronze Age occupation is divided into two by a layer of destruction, dating to approximately 1230 B.C., and interpreted by W. F. Albright as part of the Israelite destruction.³⁹

At Tell Duweir (Lachish), Canaanite culture seems to continue uninterrupted until ca. 1230 B.C. where the third

31. Y. Marquet, *Les Fouilles de 'Ay (Et-Tell)*, 1933-35 (Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, 1949).

32. BASOR, No. 56, p. 11; No. 58, p. 15; No. 74, pp. 15ff.

33. *Palastinajahr buch*, 1935, pp. 7-29; *Josua*, 1938, pp. 23ff.

34. *Melanges Franz Cumont*, (Brussels, 1936), Vol. II, pp. 847-857.

35. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CXV (1937), pp. 125-141.

36. Albright, BASOR, No. 74, p. 16.

37. Y. Yadin, et al, *Hazor I; II* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1958; 1960). Also see *Israel Exploration Journal*, Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9.

38. See Albright in AASOR, Vol. XVII, p. 5; Joshua 10:38, 39.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 66. For questions raised by K. M. Kenyon see *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, p. 214.

Fosse Temple was destroyed.⁴⁰ This destruction, which appears to include the city as well, may have been caused by the Israelites (Joshua 10:31, 32), but there is also the possibility that the destruction could be placed later than ca. 1230 B.C.; in which case the Sea Peoples may have caused the destruction.

At Megiddo, also included in Joshua's destruction, (Joshua 12:21b) the Late Bronze Age city, Level VII B, comes to an end through violent destruction ca. 1350 B.C.⁴¹ However, there is no cultural change between Level VII B and the succeeding Level VII A. Had Level VII A exhibited cultural change, the preceding destruction might have been attributed to the Israelites. In fact, Megiddo does not seem to have succumbed so readily to the perils of the years ca. 1200 B.C., since Level VII A appears to have lasted down to ca. 1150 B.C. (Iron Age).

From the material cited thus far, there appears to be a scattered destruction of Late Bronze Age cities in Palestine during the thirteenth century B.C. In many cases, these destructions were accompanied by a cultural change, and probably the destructions were caused by the new cultural element. However, on the basis of archaeology alone, one cannot say that the Israelite invasion of Palestine in the thirteenth century B.C. was the sole determining factor in such a cultural shake-up. We must remember that the Egyptians, the Philistines, the Sea Peoples, plus the co-mingling of the native Canaanites with the invading nomadic tribes⁴² were also involved in the cultural change.

The relation of Jericho to the destructions found at other Palestinian sites is somewhat of an enigma at the present time. As we have seen, the destruction levels at other sites seem to occur in the second half of the thirteenth century B.C. Because of the destructive denudation at Jericho, the second half of the thirteenth century B.C. is not represented on the tell or in the cemeteries. Miss Kenyon has theorized that the small oven and the single juglet of Late

40. O. Tufnell, et al, *Lachish II: The Fosse Temple* (Oxford: University Press, 1940).

41. G. Loud, *Megiddo II: Text* (Chicago: University Press, 1948), p. 29b.

42. For the most comprehensive review of the Habiru-Hebrew problem see M. Greenberg, *The Hab/piru* (New Haven: American Oriental Series Vol. 39, 1955).

Bronze Age date belonged to a household which was overcome by the catastrophic destruction of the Israelites. However, this destruction at Jericho is relegated at the latest to 1325 B.C.; a date which is one hundred years out of line with destruction at other sites. This 1325 B.C. date is also out of line with epigraphic evidence, which would place the major invasion of Canaan by the Israelites in the second half of the thirteenth century B.C.⁴³

Conclusion

Thus we are left with three possibilities when we try to relate Jericho with current epigraphical and archaeological studies. If Miss Kenyon's hypothesis that the Israelite destruction occurs at Jericho ca. 1350-1325 B.C. is correct, then the dating of destruction levels at other Palestinian sites needs to be re-evaluated. This first possibility seems unjustified at the present time, because the epigraphic evidence seems to correspond with the archaeological evidence from these other Palestinian sites. A second possibility arises from the fact that Miss Kenyon did not completely excavate Tell es-Sultan. Conceivably, some later excavation at Jericho might turn up a destruction level in an area which as yet remains intact. Such a destruction level might be more in line with current theory on the Israelite destruction. However, this possibility appears remote at the present time, because the excavation by Miss Kenyon was most thorough. The *tell* was sampled on three of its four sides,⁴⁴ a trench was cut through all surviving defenses, and the highest point of the *tell* was extensively examined. The third possibility, therefore, appears to be a probability. Over a period extending from the last half of the fourteenth century into the seventh century B.C., the natural elements of wind and rain have destroyed any evidence which may or may not have depicted Jericho occupation at the time "the wall came tumbling down."

43. For a summary of the complex epigraphic evidence see H. H. Rowley, *From Joseph to Joshua* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950).

44. A modern road runs along the fourth side of the *tell*; thus disrupting archaeological evidence there.

Significant Development In Scroll Research

BY JERRY VARDAMAN

Within the last century the imagination of the whole world has been captured frequently by sensational archaeological discoveries. In 1872 George Smith, an assistant in the British Museum, created international excitement by his translation of a Babylonian account of the Flood. French archaeologists found a Code of Hammurabi at Susa in 1901-1902. The similarity between this Code and the legislation of Moses stirred widespread interest. Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon found the fabulous burial chamber of King Tutankhamen near Thebes in 1922. Each of these magnificent discoveries, plus many others, brought about a keen response from the general public. Approximately fifteen years ago the Dead Sea Scrolls were found. Progressively, these Scrolls have become more and more famous. The fact is now unmistakably clear that the discovery of these Scrolls must be considered as one of the greatest archaeological finds of human history.

Due to improved methods of mass communication, the Dead Sea Scrolls have received more publicity than any previous archaeological find. Newspaper accounts have covered every new development in Scroll discovery. Scores of radio and television programs have popularized the story of the Scrolls. Book publishers report that works dealing with the Scrolls frequently become their best-sellers. So many articles of a scientific and scholarly type have been written on the Scrolls that no one can read all of them.¹

Since the basic facts pertaining to the discovery and authentication of the Scrolls are well known, they can be dispensed with here. Unfortunately, some confusion still arises when reference is made to the Dead Sea Scrolls. The term is used to mean different things to various writers. In this article the term is used in a broad sense to refer to all

1. Cf. Christopher Burchard, "Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Totem Meer," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Beihefte 76, Berlin, 1957. Through August, 1956, Burchard listed 1556 entries on various phases of Scroll study. The number of articles published on the Scrolls now surpasses the two thousand mark. See the supplementary bibliographical studies by Burchard in the various issues of *Revue Qumran*. William La Sor recently replaced Burchard as editor of this Scroll bibliography.

of those ancient literary sources which have been recovered within recent years in the desert areas adjacent to the Dead Sea. By and large, the materials recovered have been written on leather, but other writings occur on copper, pottery, papyrus, seals, etc. Many names have been attached to the Scrolls, and this inconsistent terminology has tended to confuse people further. They have been called "The Ain Feshkha Scrolls," "The Scrolls from the Judean Desert," "The Library of Qumran," and the "Jerusalem Scrolls," to name only a few of their many titles.

Ancient Scroll materials have come from not just one locality, but from a half dozen places, in the vicinity of the Dead Sea. The most important Scrolls have come from Qumran, a site located in the northwest corner of the Dead Sea about nine miles due south of Jericho. Qumran has been identified as an ancient center of the Essenes, a Jewish religious sect which flourished before and during the New Testament period. Important manuscripts have also come from Khirbet Mird, Wadi Murabbaat, Nahal Hever, Nahal Tse-Elm, and even from unknown localities in the Judean desert. Therefore, present writers more commonly include the materials from all of the above places when they refer to the Dead Sea Scrolls. Earlier writers on the Scrolls naturally restricted the meaning of the term to the Qumran discoveries.

Before their discovery, no one seriously believed that manuscripts such as the Dead Sea Scrolls would ever be found in Palestine. The climate of Palestine was thought to be too humid for ancient manuscripts to be preserved there. The Dead Sea area is now realized to be quite different from the more inhabited districts of Palestine, both in terrain and atmosphere. The climate of the Dead Sea region resembles that of Egypt in that it is bone-dry. While there is a slight rainfall in the Dead Sea area, it is inconsequential and limited to short seasons. Thus, the dry weather which prevails there saves writing materials from moisture damage. In additions, both sides of the Dead Sea are lined with prominent cliffs. These cliffs are honey-combed with caves of all types. Most of the Scroll materials recovered thus far were deposited originally with these caves. Even the finds from Khirbet Mird, a Byzantine

Christian settlement five to seven miles west of the Dead Sea, were discovered within an underground chamber which served earlier as a library.² Naturally, such caves and chambers tend to protect written materials deposited within them from adverse weather conditions of all types. In certain cases, other forms of manuscript deterioration have been prevented since some of the Scrolls were placed originally within jars inside of the caves.

It is still too early to realize completely the full impact which the Scrolls will have on the study of the Scriptures. Every area of Biblical research will profit from the new discoveries. The field of Old Testament textual criticism is helped immeasurably. The Scrolls continue to stimulate research in Biblical geography, linguistics, archaeology, eschatology, history, interpretation, palaeography, theology, and higher criticism. Until all of the new materials are published, no one can say which areas will profit most. Over the last few years, the trend has been for Scrolls to be found faster than they can be published. By itself, the basic work of editing the Scrolls now in hand will require the labors of specialists for many years to come; therefore, the interpretation of the Scrolls' significance has just begun.

New Scroll Discoveries from the Desert of Judea

The discovery of new materials from the Judean desert continues to move ahead. Recent explorations in the Israeli area of the Dead Sea have been of great consequence. For the first time, ancient manuscripts have now been found within the Israeli borders. In a cave overlooking Nahal Hever, a desolate area eleven miles north of Masada, eleven papyrus letters, written in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, were discovered in the early part of 1960.³ These letters mention Ben Koseba,⁴ leader of the Jewish revolt against the Romans in A.D. 132-135. Combined with earlier materials found at Murabbaat which belong to Ben Koseba, these new letters will aid the historian in reconstructing several

2. Cf. J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, trans. John Strugnell (Naperville: Alec R. Allenson, 1959), p. 15.

3. *Land of the Bible Newsletter* (June-July, 1960), pp. 1-2.

4. He has been called "Bar Kochba" in other works.

details about his revolt which were previously unknown. Since the history of the Second Jewish Revolt is so sketchy, these new historical sources are all the more welcome. Enough is clear already to indicate that the rebels must have held out for many years after the main strength of their resistance movement was crushed by the Romans. Furthermore, the Hebrew letters of Ben Koseba along with those from Murabbaat, prove that Hebrew continued to be used as a living language long after the time of Jesus.

In February of 1960, news releases told of a fragment of Exodus which was found in the same vicinity as Ben Koseba's letters. This fragment came from Nahal Tse-Elim, around three miles north of Masada and preserved Exodus 13:11-16 in the form of a phylactery.⁵ With other evidence, this discovery confirms the theory that in the second century A.D. the scriptural texts which the Jews used on phylacteries were standardized to include four passages: Exodus 13:1-10; 13:11-16; Deuteronomy 6:4-9; 11:13-21. Likewise, the text of this phylactery is close to the Masoretic order. The case is utterly different at Qumran. These earlier phylacteries had a looser textual tradition and the passages selected for use were more numerous. Besides those mentioned above, the Qumran phylacteries included Deuteronomy 5:1-27; 10:17-11:12; 32:1-43 (?); and Exodus 13:2-9.⁶ Interestingly enough, all of these phylacteries were written customarily in very fine script, the size of the letters used being three or four times smaller than other ordinary writings. This practice of minute writing was probably dictated by the desire to conserve materials and to allow the phylactery containers to be less cumbersome in size. Usually the strips of writing materials containing phylacteries are very narrow.⁷ Thus, Jesus' indictment against the Pharisees is better understood (cf. Matt. 23:5). Certain of the Phari-

5. Cf. P. Wernberg-Moller, "The Exodus Fragment from Masada," *Vetus Testamentum*, X (April, 1960), pp. 229-230. A papyrus letter or deed in Hebrew was also found at Nahal Tse-Elim. Cf. *Land of the Bible Newsletter* (March, 1960), p. 1.

6. Cf. Geza Vermes, "Pre-Mishnaic Jewish Worship and the Phylacteries from the Dead Sea," *Vetus Testamentum*, IX (January, 1959), pp. 65-72; and, Patrick W. Skehan, "Qumran and the Present State of Old Testament Text Studies: The Masoretic Text," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXXVIII (March, 1959), p. 22.

7. See Milik, *op. cit.*, Plate 22, for an illustration of a Cave IV phylactery.

sees must have had scruples against following the common practice of using small phylacteries. The larger texts which they used marked them off as more pious than others! Jesus accused them of hypocrisy by their actions.

One of the most important features of these new Israeli discoveries is the way in which they were found. In the past, the discovery of Scrolls has been largely the result of the non-scientific work of poor Bedouin. The Bedouin are wandering shepherds who chance upon caves which contain Scrolls as they tend their flocks in the desert. On the other hand, the Israeli archaeologists who found these recent materials were professionals who employed helicopters, electronic equipment, and a detailed plan in order to gain their objectives. The future likely will demand that more expeditions follow similar methods if fruitful Scroll discovery continues. Israeli archaeologists carried through another search of the same type this winter.

New Developments in Purchasing the Scrolls

The great majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls have been discovered in Jordan. Many readers might be unaware of the fact that considerable quantities of Scroll fragments still remain in the hands of the Jordanian Bedouin. Even though Cave Eleven was discovered in 1956, all of its contents have not been acquired by government officials. This unfortunate situation is explained by the economic distress of Jordan. The resources of the country are limited since hundreds of thousands of displaced Arab refugees depend on the Jordanian Government for support. The British and American Governments contribute substantial sums to sustain Jordan, but there is little money left over to use for purchasing the Scrolls which the Bedouin still have. A recent trip to America by the Director of the Jordan Antiquities Department for the purpose of raising funds to secure these Scrolls proved disappointing. No one knows for sure how much material the Bedouin possess, but rumors indicate that at least \$100,000.00 of Scrolls are still in their hands.

Encouraging news now indicates that financial help could come to Jordan through special arrangements with European and American museums. Scrolls would be loaned for

specified periods to museums which participate in a new plan. Museums would contribute funds which would be used to purchase new Scrolls. In the past, educational institutions had an opportunity to acquire Scroll fragments by making financial contributions to the Jordanian Antiquities Department. Scrolls purchased with these contributions were passed on to the educational institutions involved after recording and study were completed. This policy is no longer in force. A new plan is under consideration, however, whereby an institution which contributes substantial financial assistance to the Antiquities Department may request that one of its scholars be permitted to work on the study of the Scrolls. It is hoped that this new plan will both facilitate the editing of the Scrolls, as well as stimulate support from institutions which are able to help financially.

Developments in Editing the Scrolls

The work of editing the Scrolls from Jordan is in the hands of an international Scroll Committee which carries on its work at the Scrollery of the Palestine Museum in Jerusalem. Scholars who serve on this Committee have various denominational affiliations, though the majority of its members are Roman Catholic. No Jew is represented on the Committee since they are not allowed in the country of Jordan. Jewish scholars frequently protest against this situation. Many highly qualified Jews are close at hand in Israel and could render much needed assistance in editing the Scrolls. Doubtless, this would speed up the publication of the unedited materials considerably, but there is small likelihood for a change to take place which would benefit Jewish interests.

Despite handicaps, the work of editing the new discoveries has progressed well. The Scroll materials are being published in a series of volumes entitled *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*.⁸ The time sequence in which the various Scroll discoveries were made determines the order of their publication.⁹ A clear demonstration that Scroll publication

8. Cf. D. Barthelemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).

9. Volume II deals with the Murabbaat discoveries, found in 1951, plus minor caves. Volume III covers the material from Caves Two and Three, found in 1952.

continues to move ahead can be seen by the fact that some of the Cave IV Aramaic materials are already in the hands of the printers. All materials from Cave IV are expected to be completed by 1962.

When the editing of the Scrolls is completed the results will be exciting. Cave Eleven, found in 1956 is known to have contained relatively complete Scrolls of Leviticus and Psalms, plus the Book of Job in an Aramaic translation. Significantly, this new Psalter does not have the same chapter arrangement as the traditional text. Some new manuscripts of Deuteronomy are reported to contain the Passover legislation which formerly appeared only in the Book of Exodus. A new phylactery includes the Song of Moses, which is found in Deuteronomy 32.

New light is being shed on the history of the pseudepigraphal books. The new evidence shows that the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs did not exist at Qumran, though the sources for this work are there. Various "Testaments" of a priestly nature have been recovered. There are Testaments of Levi, Amram, and Benjamin. The Testament of Levi is five times longer at Qumran than it is in its traditional form in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. Thus, at a later period, considerable redactional work was done on these older "Testaments". Levi was shortened and several new "Testaments" were written before the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs was brought to its present form.

Developments in Textual Criticism and the Scrolls

Until the Dead Sea Scrolls were found, practically all of the most ancient texts of the Bible came from the dry sands of Egypt. The Biblical collection of the Chester Beatty Papyri, found in 1931, is typical. Purchased by Mr. Beatty from Egyptian dealers, this collection contained large portions of the Old Testament in Greek. Most of the Old Testament books in the Beatty collection dated from the third and fourth centuries A.D., which make these manuscripts rank high as textual witnesses for the early form of the Greek version of the Old Testament.¹⁰ For the textual criti-

10. Cf. F. G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, I (London: Emery Walker Limited, 1933), p. 71.

cism of the Greek New Testament, the Beatty manuscripts are also of great importance. For example, this collection contains some of the very earliest textual sources for the writings of Paul.

Unfortunately, very few ancient Hebrew sources of the Old Testament have been preserved, even in Egypt.¹¹ It seems that Hebrew as a spoken language was never popular around the district of the Nile. At an early period, Jewish settlers in Egypt exchanged their speech for the Aramaic dialect. After the time of Alexander the Great, Greek became the *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean world and this language continued to be popular in Egypt until the Islamic conquests. Hence, Egyptian Jews ordinarily made use of a Greek translation of the Old Testament known as the Septuagint, which is the same type of text represented by the Beatty manuscripts. Many other copies of this Greek version of the Old Testament have been found in Egypt, but the relationship which existed between the Septuagint and the early form of the Palestinian Hebrew text remained obscure. There was no way to examine the problem thoroughly because previous to the Scrolls, no complete book of the Hebrew Scriptures was known to exist which antedated the ninth century A.D. The earliest Hebrew manuscripts which existed were of the Masoretic type.¹²

Now the Dead Sea Scrolls have supplied textual scholars with literally thousands of fragmentary manuscripts of the pre-Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible. Likewise, certain well-preserved Scrolls, containing entire Old Testament books in a more or less complete form, have been recovered. Textual scholars consider the fragments as important as the full Scrolls. For, the fragments enable students to have a representative cross section of the text of the entire Old Testament. Hence, general conclusions can be drawn about the type of text which is preserved in the Biblical materials from Qumran.

The main contribution which the Dead Sea Scrolls has made to the lower criticism of the Old Testament is this:

11. An ancient fragment of the Ten Commandments and the Shema was discovered in Egypt in 1905. Cf. W. F. Albright, "A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabaeon Age: The Nash Papyrus," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LVI (1937), pp. 145-176.

12. From Hebrew, Masora—"tradition."

These documents show that a variety of textual traditions existed side by side during the New Testament period and long before this time. A type of text was current which critics call the "proto-Masoretic" because it resembles the later tradition so closely. But other textual types are well-represented at Qumran also, such as the Samaritan, and, particularly, the Septuagint.

Some Greek Septuagint fragments were found at Qumran. Cave IV yielded Septuagint fragments from two separate copies of Leviticus. A fragment of Numbers also came from Cave IV. Cave VII gave critics a few fragments of Exodus in the Greek version.¹³ But, in ratio to the Hebrew materials, the Septuagint in Greek form was extremely rare at Qumran. The scarcity of the Greek Septuagint at Qumran might be typical of the whole area of Palestine in Jesus' day. It is impossible to say, although a roll of the Minor Prophets in Septuagint form has come from an unknown locality in the Judean desert.¹⁴

Significantly, a great number of the Hebrew manuscripts from Qumran preserve readings which stand behind the Septuagint version. Thus, the Septuagint tradition is now held in higher respect than it was a generation ago. In the historical books of the Old Testament, especially, the evidence for Septuagint readings is strong at Qumran.¹⁵

Some of the problems surrounding the Old Testament quotations in the New Testament are clarified by realizing that the Septuagint type of text was represented by numerous Hebrew manuscripts which circulated freely in Jesus' day. An example or two will demonstrate this point. Acts 7:14 quotes Stephen as saying: "And Joseph sent and called to him Jacob his father and all his kindred, seventy-five souls." The Masoretic text of Exodus 1:5 lists seventy persons as descending into Egypt with Jacob. A new fragment of Exodus in Hebrew which comes from Cave IV gives the figure in question as "seventy-five," precisely as the Septuagint also reads.¹⁶

13. Cf. Millar Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: The Viking Press, 1958), p. 164.

14. Cf. P. Benoit, "Editing the Manuscript Fragments from Qumran," *Biblical Archaeologist*, XIX (December, 1956), p. 76.

15. See Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1958), p. 134.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 137, n. 31.

Hebrews 1:6 always has been a difficult verse. The writer of Hebrews seemingly quotes from the Old Testament: "And again, when he brings the firstborn into the world he says, 'Let all God's angels worship him'." But the passage is not to be found anywhere in the present Masoretic text. Formerly, only the Septuagint contained this statement as an addition to Deuteronomy 32:43. Hebrew fragments from Cave IV have been found which contain Deuteronomy 32:37-43 in a form like that of the Septuagint. Two other fragments of Deuteronomy 32 have also appeared in Hebrew. Consistently, the new materials on this chapter support the readings of the Septuagint against the Masoretic text.¹⁷

Doubtless, this new tendency to see many of the variants of the Septuagint as reliable will continue. On the other hand, Burrows cautions us against overstressing the matter:

... an old reading is not necessarily a good one. The Qumran texts are full of variant readings which are demonstrably inferior to those of the traditional text. . . .

Sometimes, however, the Masoretes and their predecessors must have chosen the wrong reading and discarded the right one. . . . Here and there we may fairly hope to recover from the Qumran manuscripts an older and better text, closer to the original form and meaning.¹⁸

The question is often raised, "How do these earlier Biblical texts compare with those which we had hitherto known as the earliest surviving ones?"¹⁹ Skehan estimates that eighty per cent of the new Biblical materials from Qumran corresponds to the traditional Hebrew text.²⁰ Hebrew texts which come from the century following the New Testament period are not as fluid as these of Qumran, however. For example, the Murabbaat Caves, located eleven miles south of Qumran, yielded Biblical manuscripts

17. Cf. Patrick W. Skehan, *op. cit.*, p. 21f. See also, F. F. Bruce, *Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956), p. 68.

18. Millar Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

19. Cf. Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

20. See Patrick W. Skehan, "The Period of the Biblical Texts from Khirbet Qumran," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, XIX (April, 1957), pp. 435-440.

of the second century A.D. The importance of these later manuscripts is that they conform almost exactly to the standard Masoretic text. After the Jews were defeated in A.D. 70, the scribes obviously took pains to eliminate variant readings from the Scriptures. While this effort brought about a more consistent text, it can now be demonstrated that the readings selected were not the best in every instance.

Developments in Geographical Study and the Scrolls

One of the main results of Scroll study has been to create a renewed interest in Biblical geography. Several works which deal with the bearing of the Scrolls on geography have already appeared.²¹ The two main documents among the Dead Sea Scrolls which are stimulating study in this direction are the Copper Scrolls and the Genesis Apocryphon.

The Copper Scrolls were found March 20, 1952, in Cave III, north of Qumran. Two of these scrolls were found, but they originally formed only a single scroll, which measured about eight feet long by eleven inches wide. Since the copper of the scrolls was in an advanced state of oxidation, the work of unrolling these documents was delayed considerably. Scientists were challenged to develop a process whereby the copper might be restored and softened. Professor A. H. Corwin of the Johns Hopkins University finally developed such a method, but the authorities in charge of the scrolls had already decided to have them cut open with a fine saw.²² Professor H. Wright Baker of Manchester University opened the Copper Documents in April, 1956, by cutting the two scrolls into twenty-three different strips.²³

Quite recently, the text of the Copper Scrolls has been

21. Cf. B. Z. Eshel, *The Dead Sea Region* (Jerusalem: Kirjath Sepher, 1958); William R. Farmer, "Ezekiel's River of Life," *Biblical Archaeologist*, XIX (February, 1956) 1, pp. 17-22; F. M. Cross, "A Footnote to Biblical History," *Biblical Archaeologist*, XIX (February, 1956) 1, pp. 12-17; J. Jeremias, "The Copper Scroll from Qumran," *Expository Times*, LXXI (May, 1960) 8, pp. 227-228.

22. Cf. Millar Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

23. Cf. H. Wright Baker, "Notes on the Opening of the 'Bronze' Scrolls from Qumran," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 39 (September, 1956) 1, pp. 45-56.

made available.²⁴ Various kinds of concealed treasures deposited in sixty-four different places throughout Palestine make up the main contents of this work. The total value of the treasures, if genuine, would run into millions of dollars.

Most authorities, however, do not take the Copper Scrolls as serious history. Mowinckel feels that the work reflects a late tradition without any basis in fact. This tradition supposedly arose over speculation concerning the fate of the treasures of Solomon's Temple.²⁵ Milik likewise counts the Copper Document as unhistorical and does not even credit it to the Essenes, since he dates the work around 100 A.D., long after the Essenes ceased to live in the Qumran area.²⁶

Several of the place names which the Copper Scrolls contain are extremely important. The popular name of Hebron seems to have the "House of the Blessed One" in New Testament times. This name probably anticipated its modern name of "The Town of the Friend" (Arabic—"el Khalil").²⁷ The pinnacle of the temple, referred to in Matthew 4:5 and Luke 4:9, is mentioned in passing,²⁸ and Solomon's Porch is also.²⁹

Perhaps the most significant geographical reference in the Copper Scroll pertains to the Pool of Bethesda which is also mentioned in John 5:2. The new reference to Bethesda reads:

Nearby, at Bet Esdatain, in the reservoir where you enter into the small basin: a case of aloes wood (and a vase of) resin from the white pine.³⁰

Ancient writers had omitted all references to Bethesda, though some authors had mentioned places that sounded somewhat like it.³¹ For this reason, the Fourth Gospel was

24. See J. T. Milik, "The Copper Document from Cave Three of Qumran," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, IV & V (1960), pp. 137-155.

25. Cf. Sigmund Mowinckel, "The Copper Scroll—An Apocryphon," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXXVI (December, 1957) 4, pp. 261-265.

26. Cf. Milik, "The Copper Document from Cave III of Qumran," p. 137.

27. Col. XII, Line 8.

28. Col. XI, Line 8.

29. Col. XI, Line 2. Cf. John 10:23; Acts 3:11; 5:12.

30. Col. XI, Line 12.

31. Cf. Milik, "The Copper Document from Cave III of Qumran," p. 153. See my article in *Western Recorder*, March 16, 1961.

suspected of being inaccurate or its text was believed to be corrupt here. Some Biblical manuscripts even changed this place name to read "Bethsaida."

Recent archaeological work has determined the location and layout of the old Pool of Bethesda.³² Thus, it is now known that there were actually two pools there and this fact is also indicated in the Copper Document, which uses the dual form of Bethesda, and refers to the smaller of the two pools as well. Therefore, here is another case to add to the many topographical references in John's Gospel which have been shown to be quite reliable in the light of modern research.³³

As mentioned, the Genesis Apocryphon is another work which has given new stimulation to Biblical geography. Strange to say, this scroll, which came from Cave I, was as hard to open as the Copper Scrolls. Perhaps the original condition of the Genesis Apocryphon can be imagined most effectively by comparing it to a roll of wallpaper rewound after its glue has been applied and then allowed to dry. Burrows describes it in the following terms:

The Lamech Scroll is compressed and coagulated. It is brittle and hard and tends to crumble. In places the leather has solidified into a kind of natural glue. A few little scraps and one whole column have become detached since the scroll was discovered, but only very careful, expert treatment can ever unroll enough to recover any considerable part of the text, if indeed this is possible at all.³⁴

One of the fragments which came loose mentioned the name of "Lamech" and that of his wife, "Bat Enosh." John Trever, who deciphered this fragment, assumed that he had found the apocryphal "Book of Lamech," so the book was given this name originally. In 1955, several years after this decomposed scroll came into the possession of the Hebrew University, Professor Bierberkraut subjected the work to

32. Cf. J. Jeremias, *Die Wiederentdeckung von Bethesda*, Johannes 5, 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949).

33. For many other of John's topographical references which have been clarified, cf. W. F. Albright, "Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of St. John," *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology*, Ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), pp. 153-171.

34. Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking Press, 1955), p. 26.

controlled humidity and succeeded in recovering three whole columns of its text, plus parts of others.³⁵

The scroll turned out to be an Aramaic document which expanded the Biblical narratives in the first fifteen chapters of Genesis. The beginning of the Scroll is missing so the text opens abruptly with Lamech describing the miraculous birth of his son, Noah. The work continues and mainly relates imaginary stories dealing with Abraham. At this point it becomes important for its geographical information. Upon the separation of Abraham from Lot, the Genesis Apocryphon describes Abraham as taking a tour of the land God promises to him (Col. XXI). Abraham journeys all the way from a point north of Bethel to the Euphrates. From there, he passes over to the Red Sea before returning to Hebron. Many of the topographical facts concerning the trip are of little use except to indicate current opinions of the writer's time. The writer proceeds to comment on the war with the invader kings mentioned in Genesis 14:

Before those days there came Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, Amraphel, king of Babylonia, Arioch, king of Cappadocia [Kapatok], Tidal, king of nations who is between the Rivers. . . .³⁶

In the Bible, Genesis 14:1 states that Arioch was king of "Ellasar." This "Ellasar" is made to refer to Cappadocia in the Genesis Apocryphon. There is no evidence that this is an accurate identification. Nevertheless, the equation is important because it indicates how the reference to Ellasar was interpreted at the time when the Genesis Apocryphon was written.

Column XXII of the work describes the return of Abraham after his defeat of the invader kings:

And the king of Sodom heard that Abram brought back all the captives and all the spoils, and he went up towards him and came to Salem, that is Jerusalem. And Abram was pitched in the valley of Shaveh which is the king's dale, the Plain of Beth ha-Karem.³⁷

35. Cf. Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1956). Columns II, XIX-XXII are well preserved. Now, half of the remaining columns have been deciphered.

36. Trans. Yigael Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), p. 150.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

Salem is here identified as Jerusalem, as it is in Psalm 72:6. While the accuracy of this equation is likewise open to question, the reference again is valuable for showing the customary opinion in the writer's day.³⁸ Of more significance is the identification of the "valley of Shaveh which is the king's dale" with the Plain of Beth ha-Karem. Since 1954, Yohanan Aharoni has conducted several seasons of archaeological excavations at a spot known today as Ramath Rahel. This site is located on a high point just three miles due south of Jerusalem. Previous to the publication of the Genesis Apocryphon, Aharoni had suggested that Ramath Rahel was the location of the Biblical Beth ha-Karem. The evidence of the Scriptures, the patristic writers, the classical sources, and Talmud, led him to his conjecture:

The most suitable candidate [for identifying Ramath Rahel] seems to be Beth ha-Karem . . . the place is mentioned by Jeremiah: . . . "and blow the trumpet in Tekoa, and set up a sign of fire in Beth-haccerem" (Jer. vi, 1). We learn from this passage that the city was situated in a high place, the fire signals of which were visible in Jerusalem, and probably to the south of Jerusalem in the direction of Tekoa.³⁹

Thus, the Genesis Apocryphon tends to confirm Aharoni's identification by associating Beth ha-Kerem near to Jerusalem and close to the "valley of Shaveh which is the king's dale."⁴⁰

The Development of Greater Objectivity in Scroll Research

New discoveries are usually subject to extremes of interpretation. At the beginning of the twentieth century new materials in abundance became available on the mystery religions and other pagan cults of the Graeco-Roman world. A school of interpretation known as the religio-historical method of interpretation became prominent. Scholars of

38. Cf. Paul Winter, "Note on Salem-Jerusalem," *Novum Testamentum*, II (1958), p. 151f. Many students are of the opinion that Salem was located in the vicinity of Shechem.

39. Cf. Y. Aharoni, "Excavations at Ramath Rahel, 1954," *Israel Exploration Journal*, VI (1956), p. 152.

40. Cf. J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, p. 36, n. 2; and, *Land of the Bible Newsletter* (October-November, 1960), p. 2, where it is suggested that Ramath Rahel might have been the place where King Uzziah dwelt apart after he was diseased with leprosy.

this persuasion argued that the New Testament was written by authors who borrowed the best elements from their contemporaneous religious world. Yet, more intensive research showed that the adherents of the religio-historical school did not work by sound methodology. Willoughby comments: "Because of the limitations of the philosophical approach and the newness of the field of inquiry, the early years of our century saw but a partial utilization of environmental data in the study of Christian origins.⁴¹ In the same way Dead Sea Scroll study has been abused by men who seek to explain too much by this single area of knowledge.

The chief reason for the widespread interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls is religious. People are anxious to know what the Dead Sea Scrolls mean for understanding the Bible. Writers of a sensational stripe have alarmed the public into thinking that traditional Biblical beliefs are endangered by the Dead Sea Scrolls. A. Dupont-Sommer, a French professor and an admirer of Renan, created apprehension in Europe by stating that the resemblance between the Teacher of Righteousness and Jesus was "very impressive."⁴² Edmund Wilson, well-known American journalist, added to this general confusion by suggesting that Christianity evolved from the Essenic order.⁴³ A. Powell Davies, an American Unitarian minister, charged that Bible scholars were keeping back information from the public because they lacked the courage to tell the people the truth. Christianity's uniqueness has been overturned by the Dead Sea Scrolls, Davies feels, but this does not bother him:

A religion is not one whit the less because it has no supernatural origin, no miracles and not too much uniqueness. What we need is not the victory of one religion over other religions but the recognition of the noble and the good in all religions.⁴⁴

Limited space does not permit a full discussion of the

41. Harold R. Willoughby, "The Study of Early Christianity," *Religious Thought in the Last Quarter-Century*, ed. J. M. Powis Smith (Chicago: The University Press, 1927), p. 59.

42. A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, trans. E. M. Rowley (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), p. 99.

43. Edmund Wilson, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea* (London: W. H. Allen, 1955). See especially pp. 126ff.

44. A. Powell Davies, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Signet Key Books, New American Library of World Literature, 1956), p. 131.

reasons used by such writers to arrive at their revolutionary conclusions. In short, it must be admitted that there are numerous points of similarity between the early Christians and the Essenes. Both groups practice baptism, have overseers, practice discipline, believe in angels and the Holy Spirit, have related Messianic teachings, share certain eschatological viewpoints, hold similar organizational practices, share many theological concepts, have communal meals, use common terminology, and consider their respective relationships to God in terms of a covenant. Yet, when closer examination is made of each of these parallels between the Essenes and the early Christians, strong differences are noticeable. Rowley has shown some of these differences in a popular, but thoroughly reliable, way and his study is recommended to the reader.⁴⁵

Some of the strongest differences between the Essenes and the early Christians still remain to be emphasized. For example, John's Gospel is singled out frequently as a New Testament document which shows great indebtedness to the Essenes. The case is stated so strongly by some writers on the subject that the reader gains the impression that the Apostle must have had the Manual of Discipline on the table before him as he wrote his Gospel! This is unfortunate. A change in attitude is inevitable as the differences will be realized more and more as research continues.

One of the clearest points of difference between the Fourth Gospel and the strict Essenic materials is to be found in their widely separated emphases on the Fatherhood of God. In all of the Essenic works, there is only one reference to God as Father.⁴⁶ This reference comes in the Hodayot:

For my father hath renounced me,
and my mother hath abandoned me to Thee;
yet Thou art a Father to all that know thy truth.⁴⁷

Even this reference seems to have been influenced by a passage in the Old Testament Psalter:

45. Cf. H. H. Rowley, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1957). Cf. also, G. Graystone, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Originality of Christ* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956).

46. The statement of Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Judaean Desert*, p. 143, that both the Essenes and early Christians "... believe that the call to salvation is addressed to all men, without ethnic or social limitations, and that men are brothers, and God a Father to every man ..." is somewhat one-sided.

47. Translation by T. H. Gaster, *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1956), p. 172.

For my father and my mother have forsaken me,
but the Lord will take me up⁴⁸ (Psalm 27:10).

On the other hand, the Fourth Gospel can hardly say enough about God as Father. Strange though it might seem, there are twice as many references to God as Father in the Fourth Gospel as there are altogether in the Synoptics. Stated in another way, when the other Johannine materials are left out of consideration, there are as many references to God as Father in the Fourth Gospel as there are in all the rest of the books of the New Testament combined. A brief, comparative list may help the reader to see this fact:

<i>References to God as Father</i>	
N. T. other than Johannine literature -----	117
(5 uncertain readings)	
Gospel of John -----	116
(2 uncertain readings)	
Other Johannine literature -----	21
Total -----	254

In respect to the numerous references to God as Father, there is a closer kinship between certain Hellenistic religious systems and John's Gospel than there is with the Qumran materials. The *Hermetica*, for example, abound in references, to God as Father. Even here, fundamental differences separate the New Testament concept of God as Father from the Hellenistic idea.

John's Gospel has many other differences with Essenic doctrine. The Gospel abrogates legalism and stresses the availability of salvation to all. While striking parallels do exist between the two systems, particularly in terminology, it still cannot be demonstrated that the author of the Fourth Gospel was directly dependent on Essenic beliefs. The biggest difference between the whole New Testament and the Essenic works, of course, is that the New Testament writers have Christ to set forth, which the Essenes do not.

The office of the Essene overseer (*mebaqqer*) is compared frequently with that of the Christian bishop (*episkopos*). To a certain extent the comparison is helpful. Yet, it is again unreasonable to say that the Christian office was modeled after Essene practice, as certain writers imply.⁴⁹

48. John Strugnell in private conversation reports that a few other unpublished Scroll fragments contain references to God as Father.

49. Cf. A. P. Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

There were age restrictions connected with the Essene *mebaqqer*. He could serve only if he were between the age of thirty and fifty.⁵⁰ The *mebaqqer* had absolute authority in all matters of purchases and sales. Since the Essene communities were monastic, all trading with outsiders was discouraged and that which was practiced had to be cleared through their overseers.⁵¹ Each month the Essene overseer controlled the compulsory collection of two days' wages from every member for purposes of charity.⁵² Discipline was carried to the extreme among the Essenes and the *mebaqqer* was to receive reports that led to the death of members accused of capital crimes.⁵³ The Christian bishops doubtless supervised disciplinary problems in the early Church, but the procedure and penalties involved differed from the Essenes. Moreover, no age regulation was attached to the Christian office. The determining qualifications for the bishop were spiritual gifts and a worthy life.

Striking differences appear throughout these two systems of religious belief. Scholars are coming to see that the Scrolls show by contrast how completely new the message of Jesus was.⁵⁴ Many of the relationships between Essenism and Christianity can be accounted for by their common indebtedness to the Old Testament and by their similar historical connections with Palestinian Judaism of the Graeco-Roman period.

What significance do the Dead Sea Scrolls have for the study of early Christianity? Primarily, these documents add to our knowledge of the background of the New Testament. Yet, the Scrolls must not be studied in isolation from other sources which contribute to our understanding of the New Testament milieu. Encouraging signs indicate that new directions and fresh emphases are evolving in the study of Christian origins. Not only with this continuing research will there be shed clearer light on the interpretation of the New Testament; but the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves will be understood better as a result of this progressive study.

50. *Zadokite Document*, Page XVII, 9.

51. *Ibid.*, Page XIII, 15f.

52. *Ibid.*, Page XVIII, 13.

53. *Ibid.*, Page IX, 17ff. Cf. also Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, II, VIII, 8, 9.

54. Cf. J. Jeremias, "The Qumran Texts and the New Testament," *Expository Times*, LXX (December, 1958), pp. 68-69.

The Gnostic Library From Nag Hammadi

BY WILLIAM E. HULL

Introduction

The post-war period of Biblical study has been dominated by two amazing manuscript discoveries made just after the close of the great conflict in 1945.¹ Thus far, the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran in Palestine have attracted the greatest interest, but in the years ahead it is likely that increasing attention will be devoted to Gnostic finds from Nag Hammadi in Egypt.

Only after a decade of almost complete obscurity were these Gnostic materials introduced to the English-speaking world. In the last five years a trickle of publications has reached the proportions of a deluge as scholars have finally gained access to some of these documents. Perhaps the greatest stimulus to public interest in America resulted from a lecture delivered by the famous New Testament scholar, Oscar Cullmann, at Union Theological Seminary in New York on March 18, 1959. Notwithstanding his cautions, the press gave sensational publicity to Cullmann's conclusion that the Gospel of Thomas from Nag Hammadi was "comparable in importance to the Dead Sea Scrolls and of even greater significance to students of the New Testament."² In her nationally syndicated column, Inez Robb wrote breathlessly that the "world awaits publication of an ancient document with hitherto unknown sayings attributed to the Sav-

1. It may be that both the Qumran and Nag Hammadi discoveries occurred in 1945. On the revision of the Qumran date from 1947 to 1945 see William H. Brownlee, "Muhammad ed-Deeb's Own Story of His Scroll Discovery," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 16:238-9, October, 1957. On the Nag Hammadi date see below, fn. 5. Cf. Charles Francis Potter, "Now the Gnostics," *Library Journal*, 85:29, January 1, 1960.

2. A full report of the lecture was prepared for the daily press by Irving Spiegel of the New York Times News Service, dated March 18, 1959. Further coverage appeared in *Time* magazine, March 30, 1959, p. 38, followed by a lengthy announcement of the publication of the Gospel of Thomas in the *Time* issue of November 9, 1959, p. 46. Indications of Cullmann's distress over misleading publicity and his efforts to correct misunderstandings occasioned by his remarks were reported in *Christianity Today*, April 13, 1959, p. 30. Cf. Richard E. Taylor, "The 'Gospel of Thomas': Gnosticism and the New Testament," *Christianity Today*, January 18, 1960, p. 3.

ior," the appearance of which should be "one of the major events of modern times."³

Quotations lifted out of context in journalistic haste, exaggerated claims by those with insufficient perspective, plus unintentional distortions by students with inadequate information will continue to plague the public as the findings from Nag Hammadi are assimilated by the popular and religious press for general consumption. This underscores the necessity for an informed Christian leadership competent to guide the average church member in his understanding of developments in this area. The present survey will seek to furnish an introduction to the subject with bibliographical guidance for further study on both an introductory and more advanced level.

Discovery and Study of the Nag Hammadi Library

As was true at Qumran, details of the initial discovery near Nag Hammadi are shrouded in obscurity.⁴ Probably in 1945⁵ a group of Egyptian peasants ransacking an ancient Christian cemetery stumbled upon a large earthen jar filled with more than a dozen leather-bound volumes of papyrus manuscripts. Their discovery was made in the vicinity of Nag Hammadi, a small town in Upper Egypt some three hundred miles south of Cairo, sixty miles⁶ north of Luxor

3. Quoted by Robert G. Bratcher, "The Gospel of Thomas not a Gospel," *Western Recorder*, April 30, 1959, p. 3.

4. The most detailed discussion of the discovery is provided by Jean Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, 116-136. Important supplementary information is supplied by G. Quispel, "The Jung Codex and Its Significance," *The Jung Codex* (F. L. Cross, editor), 40-44. Cf. W. C. van Unnik, *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, 8-15; Kendrick Grobel, *The Gospel of Truth*, 7-10; H. C. Puech, "The Jung Codex and the Other Gnostic Documents from Nag Hammadi," *The Jung Codex* (F. L. Cross, editor), 13-15.

5. This date is advanced by Doresse, *op. cit.*, 128, and has been accepted by Grobel, *op. cit.*, 7; Puech, *op. cit.*, 14; and most other writers on the subject.

6. The distance from Luxor to Nag Hammadi is given as approximately sixty miles by Doresse, *op. cit.*, 128; Puech, *op. cit.*, 13; van Unnik, *op. cit.*, 10. However, it is given as approximately thirty miles by Grobel, *op. cit.*, 8, and V. R. Gold, "The Gnostic Library of Chenoboskion," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 15:71, December, 1952. Apparently the discrepancy is due to whether the distance is measured directly through the desert, or along the U-shaped course of the Nile River between the two points. For a map see Jean Doresse, "A Gnostic Library from Upper Egypt," *Archaeology*, 3:69, Summer, 1950.

(ancient Thebes).⁷ Attaching no great significance to the cache, the peasants discarded some of the leaves (burning them for fuel to brew tea, it is rumored!), showed the remains to several of the villagers, including one priest who could not decipher the dialect, and then disposed of the lot to a merchant who was willing to risk the trifling sum of three Egyptian pounds (\$8.50).

At this point the manuscripts began a tortuous journey, the precise details of which may never be recovered.⁸ One document soon came to the attention of Togo Mina, Director of the Coptic Museum in Cairo, who secured it for his institution in the fall of 1947 and, with Jean Dorese and H. C. Puech, made brief announcement of it to the scholarly world in 1948.⁹ A second complete codex escaped Egypt in the possession of a Belgian antiquities dealer named Albert Eid and was subsequently secured through Professor Gilles Quispel of Utrecht in May, 1952, for the Jung Institute in Zurich, Switzerland.¹⁰ To honor the famous psychiatrist who has long shown an interest in Gnosticism, this papyrus was designated as the "Jung Codex" and made public at a ceremony in Zurich on November 15, 1953. The third, and by far the largest group of manuscripts, was brought together in Cairo and tentatively offered for sale in 1949. Political turmoil and legal complications delayed their final acquisition for the Coptic Museum until the autumn of 1956.¹¹

7. Actually, Dorese has established that the discoverers were not from Nag Hammadi on the west bank of the Nile, but from Debbah and Hamra-Doum on the eastern side. The find itself was made some five miles northeast of these villages at the foot of an imposing cliff, Jebel-et-Tarif, the approximate site of the ancient town of Chenoboskion, once known in Christian history for a monastery established there quite early (c. A.D. 320) by Pachomius. Thus it is more proper to refer to the manuscripts as the Library of Chenoboskion, as is sometimes done, although it is more popular to use a designation which connects them with Nag Hammadi, the nearest modern town of some size, where they were first brought to light. Cf. Dorese, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, 128-134; Puech, *op. cit.*, 13-14; Grobel, *op. cit.*, 8.

8. The most detailed but one-sided account is by Dorese, *op. cit.*, 116-127.

9. Dorese, *op. cit.*, 118-119.

10. For details see Quispel, *op. cit.*, 40-44.

11. Dorese, *op. cit.*, 119-124; van Unnik, *op. cit.*, 10-11.

Publication, translations, and studies of the Nag Hammadi manuscripts have been slow and complicated. The Jung Codex was the first to receive a brief preliminary discussion.¹² Now its first work, The Apocryphon of James, has been described,¹³ and its chief writing, The Gospel of Truth (*Evangelium Veritatis*), has undergone sumptuous publication and translation.¹⁴ The first of the documents to be acquired by the Coptic Museum in Cairo contained the Apocryphon of John. Professor Walter Till was able to make use of this material in his critical edition of the Berlin Papyrus 8502 which contains three Coptic documents, two of which were paralleled in the Nag Hammadi texts.¹⁵ Even greater progress was made in 1956 when the current Director of the Coptic Museum, Dr. Pahor Labib, published photographic reproductions of another Codex in the collection.¹⁶ This not only made possible further studies of the Apocry-

12. F. L. Cross, editor, *The Jung Codex*; cf. A. D. Nock, "A Coptic Library of Gnostic Writings," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 9:314-324, October 1958.

13. W. C. van Unnik, "The Origin of the Recently Discovered Apocryphon Jacobi," *Vigiliae Christianae*, 10:149-156, 1956; *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, 80-88.

14. E. M. Malinine, H. C. Puech, and Gilles Quispel, *Evangelium Veritatis*, 1956, contains photographic facsimiles, the text in Coptic type, and French, German, and English translations. For other translations and studies, cf. Grobel, *op. cit.*, 12-201; Johannes Leipoldt, "Das 'Evangelium der Wahrheit'," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 82:825-834, November, 1957; W. C. van Unnik, "The 'Gospel of Truth' and the New Testament," *The Jung Codex*, 81-129; *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, 58-68; H. C. Puech, "Gnostische Evangelien und Verwandte Dokumente," *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, I (E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, editors), 160-166; R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, 128-132; R. McL. Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem*, 155-164; C. K. Barret, "The Gospel of Truth," *The Expository Times*, 69:167-170, March, 1958; Floyd V. Filson, "The Gnostic 'Gospel of Truth'," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 20:76-78, September, 1957.

15. Carl Schmidt and Walter Till, *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyru Berolinensis 8502 (Texte und Untersuchungen, 60)*, 1955. Cf. Walter C. Till, "The Gnostic 'Apocryphon of John'," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 3:14-22, January-April, 1952.

16. Pahor Labib, *Coptic Gnostic Papyri in the Coptic Museum of Old Cairo*, I, 1956. This publication includes two leaves which were missing from the Gospel of Truth in the Jung Codex (pp. 33-36) and so fills a lacuna in the *Evangelium Veritatis*. For an English translation of this section see Grobel, *op. cit.*, 138-172.

17. van Unnik, *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, 69-79; Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem*, 149-155; Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, 109-112.

phon of John,¹⁷ but made accessible to scholars the Gnostic Gospel of Philip¹⁸ and the now-famous Gospel of Thomas.¹⁹

Future plans include the eventual transfer of the Jung Codex from Zurich to the Coptic Museum in Cairo, thus reuniting the entire corpus for the first time since its initial discovery. An international team of Coptic experts, mostly Egyptian and European, has been recruited to carry forward the laborious task of editing and translating.²⁰ If further political turmoil does not again engulf the project, it may be reasonably expected that photographic reproductions of the remaining codices will become available to scholars

18. Robert M. Grant, "Two Gnostic Gospels," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 79:4-9, March, 1960; H. M. Schenke, "Das Evangelium nach Philippus. Ein Evangelium der Valentinianer aus dem Fund von Nag-Hammadi," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 84:1-26, 1959.

19. Coptic text and translation is provided by A. Guillaumont and others, *The Gospel According to Thomas*, 1959. This is but a fragment of a complete critical edition which will include a long introduction, translation, commentary and index. For other translations cf. William R. Schoedel in Robert M. Grant and David Noel Freedman, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus*, 117-197; Doresse, *op. cit.*, 355-370; Johannes Leipoldt, "Ein neues Evangelium? Das Koptische Thomasevangelium übersetzt und besprochen," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 83: 481-497, July, 1958; "The Coptic Gospel of Thomas: A Gnostic Source of Unknown Sayings of Jesus from Chenoboskion," an English translation prepared by the New Testament Seminar of Princeton Theological Seminary, May, 1959 (distributed in manuscript). For studies of the Gospel of Thomas see Grant and Freedman, *op. cit.*, 62-201; Bertil Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas* (scheduled for publication in February, 1961; this study was available only in galley proofs and must be cited in this article without specific pagination); Doresse, *op. cit.*, 332-352 (now expanded to *L'Evangile selon Thomas ou les paroles secretes de Jesus*, 1959); van Unnik, *op. cit.*, 46-57; R. McL. Wilson, "The Gospel of Thomas," *The Expository Times*, 70: 324-325, August, 1959; F. W. Beare, "The Gospel According to Thomas: A Gnostic Manual," *Canadian Journal of Theology*, 6:102-112, April, 1960; G. W. MacRae, "The Gospel of Thomas—Logia Iesou?" *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 22: 56-71, January, 1960; Gilles Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," *Vigiliae Christianae*, 11:189-207, 1957; "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," *New Testament Studies*, 5:276-290, July, 1959; Walter C. Till, "New Sayings of Jesus in the Recently Discovered Coptic 'Gospel of Thomas,'" *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 41:446-458, March, 1959; Otto A. Piper, "A New Gospel," *The Christian Century*, 77:96-99, January 27, 1960; Harvey K. McArthur, "The Gospel According to Thomas," *New Testament Side-lights* (A. C. Purdy Festschrift), 43-77; R. McL. Wilson, *Studies in the Gospel of Thomas* (forthcoming, 1961; London: A. R. Mowbray).

20. Very few scholars are sufficiently competent in both Coptic studies and Gnosticism to conduct original research in the Nag Hammadi materials. Some of the non-Egyptian scholars from whom useful contributions may be expected include Jean Doresse, Robert M. Grant, Kendrick Grobel, A. D. Nock, H. C. Puech, Gilles Quispel, Walter C. Till, W. C. van Unnik, and R. McL. Wilson.

within a few years. However, the work of translation and interpretation will require the labor of many decades.

Unlike the Scrolls from Qumran, the Nag Hammadi codices were not found near the ruins of the community which produced them. A surface exploration in 1950 convinced Doresse that the manuscripts were hidden away in an abandoned Christian cemetery by a Gnostic heretic who certainly did not belong to the rigidly orthodox monks of the nearby Pachomian monasteries.²¹ Therefore, there is no expectation that further Gnostic finds will be made in the vicinity and, as far as is known, there are no plans for additional archaeological investigations in that area.

A Description of the Nag Hammadi Library

It is impossible to know precisely what was discovered in the cemetery near Chenoboskion. The original carelessness of the fellahin and the subsequent splitting of the material into at least three groups probably resulted in the loss of a small portion of the find. The material which has survived²² consists of thirteen volumes. Eleven are substantially complete while only scattered remnants of the other two remain. The entire collection, written on large sheets of papyrus,²³ was produced in codex form and bound in leather cases with envelope flaps fastened by attached thongs. Out of an approximate total of 1,000 pages, 794 are complete. There is a single column of writing on each page, usually reflecting a calligraphy (penmanship) of clarity and beauty.

All of the writings are in the Sahidic and Subakhmimic dialects of Coptic, which is a late form of the old Hamitic language of Egypt, and are for the most part translations of Greek originals. The manuscripts themselves were prepared by several copyists during the third and fourth centuries

21. Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, 128-129.

22. For a general description of the finds see Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, 137-248; Puech, *The Jung Codex*, 15-23; van Unnik, *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, 16-21; Grobel, *op. cit.*, 9-12; R. McL. Wilson, "The Gnostic Library of Nag Hammadi," *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 12:165-169; V. R. Gold, "The Gnostic Library of Chenoboskion," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 15:70-88, December, 1952.

23. Most of the codices measure $5\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ inches (15x25 cm.) with 26 lines per page. The Jung Codex measures $5\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ (14x29 cm.) with up to 37 lines per page.

A.D.,²⁴ but the original Greek works lying behind them are in some cases much older, extending well back into the second century A.D.²⁵ There are forty-eight or forty-nine²⁶ treatises in the corpus, three of which are present in a double or triple recension. Not counting these repetitions the number of individual works is reduced to forty-four, of which only two were previously known from the Berlin Papyrus 8502.²⁷

At least three major types of literature are to be found in the Nag Hammadi collection. First, there are a number of purely Gnostic revelations and meditations, generally ascribed to the great Gnostic prophet Seth (Shem), which contain a bewildering variety of mythological speculations.²⁸ Second, there are several pseudo-Biblical apocrypha of a Jewish and/or Christian nature. In the latter category are two distinct sub-types: (a) Some, like the Apocryphon of John, are predominantly Gnostic writings with a thin Christian veneer. Presumably they were originally pagan writings, only later disguised in Christian dress.²⁹ (b) Others, like the Gospel of Thomas,³⁰ are primarily Christian with only a superficial Gnostic flavoring.³¹ Finally, in one of the codices there is a cluster of Hermetic writings directly re-

24. Doresse, *op. cit.*, 138-141, has detected the hand of nine different scribes who used four distinct types of writing. Paleographic criteria would suggest that this calligraphic evolution covered about two centuries.

25. The Gospel of Truth may be dated with some precision c. A.D. 150 (Grobler, *op. cit.*, 27-29). The editors of the "official" translation of the Gospel of Thomas date the Coptic codex in which it is found c. A.D. 400, but describe it as "a translation or an adaptation in Sahidic Coptic of a work the primitive text of which must have been produced in Greek about 140 A.D., and which was based on even more ancient sources" (A. Guillaumont and others, *The Gospel According to Thomas*, vi). Other works, such as the Apocryphon of John, also antedate Irenaeus (van Unnik, *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, 19-20).

26. The forty-ninth text is distinguished by Doresse, *op. cit.*, 140, n. 4.

27. For lists of the forty-eight (forty-nine) works cf. van Unnik, *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, 16-17; Doresse, *op. cit.*, 142-145, with the fullest description of the forty-four writings yet available, 146-248.

28. Doresse, *op. cit.*, 146-197.

29. *Ibid.*, 197-218.

30. Otto A. Piper, "A New Gospel?" *The Christian Century*, 77:98, January 27, 1960, suggests that the Gospel of Thomas "does have some common ground with Gnosticism, but it is a far cry" from distinctive Gnostic speculations.

31. Doresse, *op. cit.*, 218-238.

lated to that large body of ancient Hellenistic speculative literature collected under the name of Hermes Trismegistus.³² This wide diversity of content in the writings from Nag Hammadi may be explained from an understanding of the nature of Gnosticism.

The Gnostic Religion of the Nag Hammadi Library

In order to understand the nature of Gnosticism³³ as reflected in the documents from Nag Hammadi it is necessary to describe those profound changes which resulted in a metamorphosis of Near Eastern religious life during the Hellenistic Age (300 B.C.-A.D. 300).³⁴ Prior to the conquests of Alexander the Great, a process of consolidation had steadily welded the West into a unified cultural sphere. With the decline of the Greek city-states a cosmopolitan mood began to emerge. As philosophical reflection gradually replaced traditional mythology, a new universalism based on knowledge was offered to educated men everywhere.

At this same time, a cultural and political synthesis was being achieved in the East under Persian rule. The Assyrian and Babylonian practice of transplanting whole populations had already uprooted religious traditions from their native soil and diffused them widely through foreign cultures. Just as the state religion of Israel had once been shattered, Persian political conquest now destroyed other official religions such as Babylonian astral worship. Paradoxically, however, this freed them from provincialism and liberated their spiritual substance to serve a wider function.

32. *Ibid.*, 241-248. On Hermetism and Gnosticism generally cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, 97-248; Hans Jones, *The Gnostic Religion*, 147-173; Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, 147-150; G. H. C. Macgregor and A. C. Purdy, *Jew and Greek: Tutors Unto Christ*, 316-321.

33. For general treatments of Gnosticism cf. Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion*; Hans Lietzmann, *The Beginnings of the Christian Church*, 264-295; Rudolf Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity in Its Contemporary Setting*, 162-172; Macgregor and Purdy, *op. cit.*, 309-329; F. C. Burkitt, *Church and Gnosis*; Jean Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, 1-115; Hans Leisegang, *Die Gnosis*; Gilles Quispel, *Gnosis als Weltreligion*; Eugene de Faye, *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme*; A. D. Galloway, *The Cosmic Christ*, 66-79. A bibliography on Gnosticism is provided by Robert Grant, "Survey of Recent Literature: Ancient Church History," *Church History*, 25:362-365, December, 1956.

34. For these developments see especially Jonas, *op. cit.*, 3-26.

Alexander accelerated the achievement of cultural homogeneity by fusing the two great cultural spheres of East and West into a unity which was destined to endure for hundreds of years. As Greek rationalism interpenetrated the oriental cults, various concepts were abstracted which became the common property of all thinking men. For example, astral worship became astrological fatalism, Old Persian Mazdaism became theological dualism, and Judaism, in the hands of men like Philo,³⁵ became philosophical monotheism. Thus the hallmark of all religious development in the three centuries after Alexander was *syncretism*, an eclectic coalescence and fusion of diverse elements from many religious and cultural traditions. By the time of Jesus, Rome had arisen to provide a political monolith which stabilized the existing synthesis and encouraged further amalgamation. In both form and content, Gnosticism was the offspring of this hellenic-oriental symbiosis.³⁶ It is not surprising, therefore, that the Nag Hammadi materials reflect clearly the influence of Greek philosophy, Babylonian astrology, Egyptian cosmogony, Hermetism, Iranian beliefs, Judaism, and Christianity.³⁷

In essential outlook, however, Gnosticism is the product of a distinctive mood which began to crystallize in the midst of the Hellenistic Age³⁸ and to penetrate all of its syncretistic processes.³⁹ Gilbert Murray has provided the classic description of this development in his phrase, "The Failure of Nerve."⁴⁰

35. Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem*, 30-63.

36. van Unnik, *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, 29-37; Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, 113-116; Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem*, 69 ("The characteristic of Gnosticism in all its forms is syncretism. . . ."), 78, 106, 174, 192; Macgregor and Purdy, *op. cit.*, 310; Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, 265-266; S. Angus, *The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World*, 377-384.

37. For a study of each of these foreign influences in the Nag Hammadi literature see Dorese, *op. cit.*, 263-309.

38. For efforts to define precisely when Gnosticism as a "system" arose cf. Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem*, 97-98; "Some Recent Studies in Gnosticism," *New Testament Studies*, 6:32-38, October, 1959; "Gnostic Origins," *Vigiliae Christianae*, 9:192-211, 1955; "Gnostic Origins Again," *Vigiliae Christianae*, 11:93-110, 1957.

39. Angus defines Gnosticism as "the religious reaction of the syncretistic centuries to the intellectual forces of the time" (*op. cit.*, 379).

40. Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, Chapter IV.

Wearied by bloodshed and almost unbelievable cruelty, languishing under totalitarian power-structures, men began to feel estranged from any sense of self-determination.⁴¹ Bewildered by upheavals which swept away traditional values, the suspicion mounted that this was an alien and evil world in which they were imprisoned. A specific impetus to this growing sense of futility was furnished by the miserable failure of Jewish apocalyptic hopes to materialize. In frustration a minority set about to reinterpret drastically that understanding of the Old Testament revelation in which so much false confidence had been placed.⁴²

In this climate of spiritual ferment and crisis, Gnosticism was born. It was not another religion as such, but was a religious outlook or *Weltanschauung* which progressively infiltrated paganism, Judaism, and Christianity in various degrees.⁴³ Very few groups expressly appropriated the name "Gnostic" to designate their movement—the Nag Hammadi sect, for example, was "Sethian"—for Gnosticism itself had neither founder, canon, nor creed. Instead, much like "existentialism" today, it was an attitude which could be identified as one characteristic within very diverse religious and intellectual movements.

It is possible to set forth here only a brief description of the essential nature of the Gnostic outlook.⁴⁴ A cardinal feature of this philosophy of life was a radical dualism which underscored the profound difference between God and the world, hence between man and the world. The universe

41. *Ibid.*, 3-4 (Anchor edition).

42. The thesis that Gnosticism arose out of the debris of shattered Jewish apocalyptic hopes has been argued with ingenuity by Robert M. Grant, especially in his book *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*. For a much more cautious statement of the role of Judaism in the rise of Gnosticism see Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem: A Study of the Relations between Hellenistic Judaism and the Gnostic Heresy*. Several have suggested the presence of Gnosticism among the Jewish sectaries of Qumran; cf. Bo Reicke, "Traces of Gnosticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *New Testament Studies*, 1:137-141, 1955; Ralph Marcus, "The Qumran Scrolls and Early Judaism," *Biblical Research*, 1:25-40, 1956; "Judaism and Gnosticism," *Judaism*, 4:360-364, 1955.

43. van Unnik, *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, 24-25; Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem*, 261 ("... Gnosticism is an atmosphere, not a system. . .").

44. For interpretations of the Gnostic *Weltanschauung* cf. Jonas, *op. cit.*, 42-97; Bultmann, *op. cit.*, 162-171; Grant, *op. cit.*, 8-13.

was viewed as a vast cosmic tyranny inhabited by hostile powers which imprisoned men in time⁴⁵ and space.⁴⁶ This thoroughgoing pessimism resulted in a radical depreciation of the cosmos, producing in man a sense of utter loneliness as one exiled in an alien world. Bereft of hope from without, he turned in "passionate subjectivity" to inner resources for the answer to his confusing and precarious existence. By means of "gnosis" (knowledge), he discovered that all was not lost, for within him was the divine spark, a fragment of the transcendent God, needing only to be liberated that it might ascend to the realm from which it had once fallen.

Gnosticism was a highly individualistic religious response to a fatalistic view of life. It cultivated a thoroughgoing introspection so as to discover that self-knowledge which was believed to be saving-knowledge. The welter of mythological speculation which crowded the pages of Gnostic literature was simply an effort to objectify in potent symbol the flight of the self from a world which it could not endure. This "gnostic" redemption, or spiritual enlightenment, freed man from his imprisonment by freeing him from himself.⁴⁷ Such a radical otherworldliness cut the nerve of ethical urgency, leaving the Gnostic either a rigorous ascetic or an unbridled libertine. In the posture of detachment, mysticism triumphed over morality, freeing the Gnostic for that self-centered speculation in which he found his salvation.

*The Significance of the Nag Hammadi Library for
New Testament Study*

In commenting on the significance of the Nag Hammadi find, Professor A. D. Nock of Harvard has provided an evaluation which is preferable to the now-famous pronouncement of Oscar Cullmann.⁴⁸ "The historical importance of this discovery may fairly be set on a level with that of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The latter throws new light on intertesta-

45. See Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, 110-115, on the cruciality of the Gnostic view of time, summarizing Puech, "La Gnose et le Temps," *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, XX, 1952.

46. Jonas, *op. cit.*, 51-54.

47. Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity in Its Contemporary Setting*, 168.

48. See above fn. 2.

mental Judaism and on Christian beginnings; the former does something comparable for subsequent Christian development."⁴⁹ Although students of early church history should profit most from the discoveries at Chenoboskion, this does not mean that the Gnostic Library is of no direct importance for New Testament studies. Any historical event, to be fully understood, must be viewed both from the background of the influences which acted upon it and from the foreground of the developments which issued out of it. Qumran and Nag Hammadi, taken together, furnish vast new resources for an understanding of the larger context in which the central Christian events must be set. In at least four areas the materials rescued from the sands of Egypt will make possible significant new developments in New Testament research.

First, they will provide a better understanding of the Gnostic background with which New Testament Christianity was forced to interact. Heretofore, all studies of Gnosticism have been partially hypothetical and conjectural because of a paucity of primary sources.⁵⁰ Now, for the first time, it is possible to gain a comprehensive interior view of Gnosticism in the earlier stages of its evolution. This does not mean that any of the Nag Hammadi writings, or their sources, may be traced with assurance to the first century, A.D., but it is virtually certain that the intellectual and religious forces which they reflect must have been set in motion by that time. If so, it may now be possible to define with greater clarity those "gnostic" tendencies about which several New Testament writers speak.⁵¹

49. A. D. Nock, "A Coptic Library of Gnostic Writings," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 9:315, October, 1958.

50. Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, 270.

51. For example cf. Gal. 4:8-10; 1 Cor. 1:17-22; 2:1-5; 3:18-20; 8:1-3; 2 Cor. 10:5; Col. 2:4, 8, 16, 20-23; 1 Tim. 1:3-7; 4:1-3; 6:3-5, 20; 2 Tim. 4:3-4; Jude 10-11; 2 Peter 1:16; 2:1, 15-19; 1 Jn. 4:1-3; Rev. 2:6, 15, 24. As a random sample of the many efforts which have been made to define the Gnostic background of various New Testament writings see Walter Schmithals, *Die Gnosis in Korinth*; J. H. Ropes, *The Singular Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians* (on which see Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem*, 93-94, note 111); Rudolf Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*; Barclay Newman, "A Consideration of the Apocalypse as an Anti-Gnostic Document," (Thesis: S.B.T.S., 1959); Heinrich Schlier, *Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief*; J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 71-111.

Second, the increased understanding of Gnosticism made possible by the Nag Hammadi Library will permit a fresh assessment of the extent to which Gnostic tendencies have been assimilated into the New Testament itself.⁵² For example, it will now be necessary to reexamine the teachings of both Jesus and Paul on the conquest of Satan, the "god of this age," and his demons (Luke 4:34; 10:18; Jn. 12:31; 14:30; 16:11; 1 Cor. 2:8; Col. 2:15; Eph. 6:10-12). The theme of the descent and ascent of the Redeemer⁵³ is, in form, parallel to later Gnostic speculations. The Pauline spirit-flesh dualism and the Johannine light-darkness dualism are certainly akin to perspectives which become prominent in Gnostic thought. The presence of these and other⁵⁴ phenomena in the New Testament suggests that the early Church appropriated from its parent faith, Judaism, and from its highly syncretistic environment several potentially "gnostic" viewpoints which were utilized in making its distinctive message relevant to the contemporary world. This also explains in part why later Gnostic sects, such as the one at Nag Hammadi, found Christianity so adaptable to their specific purposes.⁵⁵

This does not mean, however, that authentic New Testament Christianity adopted the basic outlook of Gnosticism even when employing some of its formal elements. The Nag Hammadi Library helps to clarify the essential difference between Gnosticism and Christianity. Over against deliver-

52. On Gnosticism in the New Testament see R. P. Casey, "Gnosis, Gnosticism and the New Testament," *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology* (Dodd Festschrift), 52-80; Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, 57, 64-68, 105-106, 116, 151-177; Rudolf Bultmann, *Gnosis* (Bible Key Words, V), 30-51; Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem*, 75-84; Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, 300-309.

53. Cf. 1 Cor. 15:47; Phil. 2:6-11; Eph. 4:8-10; Jn. 3:13, 31. Cf. the "ascent" of Paul in 2 Cor. 12:2-4.

54. Cf. Matt. 11:25-30; Mk. 4:10-12; Gal. 4:8-10; Col. 1:15-20; 2:20.

55. On the evolution of primitive Christianity into heretical Gnosticism cf. van Unnik, *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, 38-45; Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem*, 97-98, 116. For a specific example of this evolution from the New Testament to the Gospel of Truth, see van Unnik, "The 'Gospel of Truth' and the New Testament," *The Jung Codex*, 107-122; Søren Giversen, "Evangelium Veritatis and the Epistle to the Hebrews," *Studia Theologica*, 13:87-96, 1959; Lucien Cerfaux, "De Saint Paul a 'L'Evangile de La Verite'," *New Testament Studies*, 5:103-112, January, 1959.

ance from fate by self-knowledge, the Gospel set forgiveness of sin by grace through faith. Instead of ethically irrelevant other-worldliness and speculation, the Christian life was to be characterized by the moral urgency of *agape*.⁵⁶ Christ redeemed men *in* time and history, not *out* of it. Doresse has well concluded,

To read, first, the Gnostic writings, and then to take up the New Testament again is an experience that is well worth while. One soon feels, after reopening the greatest books of authentic Christianity, that here are to be found treasures of life yet more abundant than we had formerly realized. We feel again the incomparable superiority of these texts, with their images and their meanings accessible to all. We marvel that the Gnostic schools were able so long to compete with them, and we can understand why the sectaries preferred, face to face with this religion, to keep their own dogmas secret and hide themselves in the dark.⁵⁷

Third, perhaps the most exciting contribution of Nag Hammadi to New Testament research lies in the possibility that its Library has preserved authentic traditions of the sayings of Jesus, particularly in the Gospel of Thomas.⁵⁸ This collection contains some 114 logia of Jesus, according to the enumeration of the official edition, which may be divided into two major groups. Roughly one-half of the sayings are independent of the canonical Gospel tradition, containing some sixteen to twenty sayings previously known from the Fathers, plus more than forty pronouncements hitherto unknown. The other half are sayings of the type found in the Synoptic Gospels, no close parallels to the Fourth Gospel being included. One comparative study utilizing the familiar categories of source analysis has concluded that ten logia in the Gospel of Thomas show an affinity to sayings found in all three Synoptic Gospels, twenty-four to sayings in Matthew and Luke (Q), eight to Matthew alone (M), and five to Luke alone (L).⁵⁹

56. See Amos Wilder, *Otherworldliness and the New Testament*.

57. Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, 326.

58. For bibliography see above, fn. 19.

59. These statistics are provided by George W. MacRae, "The Gospel of Thomas—Logia Iesou?" *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 22:59-60, January, 1960. Cf. Harvey K. McArthur, "The Gospel According to Thomas," *New Testament Sidelights*, 56-70.

It is still premature to reach a decision regarding the dependence of the Gospel of Thomas on the Synoptic Gospels. Some scholars are certain that "the Gospel of Thomas is demonstrably dependent on the Synoptics,"⁶⁰ while others contend that "some part at least of the Gospel of Thomas goes back to independent tradition. . ."⁶¹ Even if scholars are able to trace the ancestry of the Thomas tradition with some confidence, this will not settle the ultimate question of the authenticity of each saying as a pronouncement of Jesus. It will be necessary to subject both the Synoptic and non-Synoptic types of sayings to a painstaking *formgeschichtliche* analysis in an effort to evaluate their authenticity. The results, as in the case of other *agrapha*⁶² such as have been discovered at Oxyrhynchus, are likely to be tentative and inconclusive. All talk of the discovery of a "fifth gospel" is quite unrealistic and inaccurate.

A fourth area in which the Nag Hammadi finds contribute to New Testament research lies in the study of text and canon. Quispel⁶³ has pointed out that more than forty sayings in the Gospel of Thomas have a marked affinity with various branches of the "Western Text." This will require a reexamination of the complicated question of the origin of this unusual textual tradition, and the testing of an hypothesis that "Western" readings in the Gospel of Thomas, as well as in the Pseudo-Clementines and Tatian, derive ultimately from an independent Jewish Christian gospel tradition, written originally in Aramaic, such as the unrecovered Gospel according to the Hebrews. Also, it must be remembered that the Gospel of Thomas was fashioned in the mid-second century when the New Testament canon was first being stabilized. A study of the way in which dominical traditions were handled by the Gnostics should furnish new

60. Harvey K. McArthur, "The Dependence of the Gospel of Thomas on the Synoptics," *The Expository Times*, 7:286, June, 1960.

61. R. McL. Wilson, "Thomas and the Synoptic Gospels," *The Expository Times*, 72:39, November, 1960, answering the article by McArthur.

62. On the whole question of the authenticity of the *agrapha* (non-canonical sayings attributed to Jesus) see Joachim Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus*.

63. Gilles Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," *Vigiliae Christianae*, 11:197-207; "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," *New Testament Studies*, 5:282-283.

clues as to the competing attitudes which existed in this crucial period regarding the fundamental question of the relationship between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith.⁶⁴

*The Relevance of the Nag Hammadi Library for
Contemporary Christianity*

Two paramount tasks challenge the Church today: (1) It must struggle to define the nature of its own existence in the light of Scripture, history, and the contemporary world. To clarify this self-understanding is the task of Biblical, historical, and systematic theology. (2) The Church must also fashion a message for contemporary man which both confronts him with authentic Christianity and, at the same time, speaks to his particular condition. This is more properly the task of apologetic, philosophical, and "kerygmatic" theology. A careful study of Gnosticism furnishes valuable insights for the achievement of these two tasks.

First, because the Nag Hammadi Library illustrates a number of subtle changes which Christian theology may undergo, it poses for the student certain basic alternatives in the formulation of his own faith. Four areas will be mentioned in which distortion has corrupted a genuine Christian perspective.

(1) There is no *heilsgeschichtliche* sense of history. The Gnostic could not proclaim, "The time is fulfilled," for time was cosmic threat rather than meaningful opportunity. History for him had neither purpose nor climax. Thus, there was no need for a critical hermeneutic in his interpretation of the historical writings of Judaism and Christianity. This resulted in a riot of uncontrolled speculation and incoherent mythology.⁶⁵

(2) Without historical perspective, Gnostic Christianity lacked proper rootage in the Old Testament religion of

64. See Bertil Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas*, Part One, chapter VIII, "The Gospel of Thomas and the Gnostic View of Scripture." Cf. van Unnik, "The 'Gospel of Truth' and the New Testament," *The Jung Codex*, 124-125.

65. Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, 252-253.

Israel.⁶⁶ This led to a rejection of the Biblical doctrine of creation, a development of decisive importance for Gnostic theology. "Christianity was saved from dualistic gnos̄is, insofar as it was saved, because it insisted upon retaining the Old Testament more or less as it stood, and thereby retained the doctrine of the goodness of the created world."⁶⁷ Therefore, the ultimate "difference between Christian and Gnostic philosophical theology seems to lie in their attitudes toward the world. For any Gnostic the world is really hell. For Christians the world is one which God made, a world whose history he governs."⁶⁸

(3) Lacking adequate Old Testament rootage, the Gnostics were unable to develop a genuine Christology. Almost without exception the Nag Hammadi "gospels" are devoid of the *works* of Jesus, giving attention only to his *words*.⁶⁹ There is no narrative framework, no historical progression, no climactic cross and resurrection. As Cullmann⁷⁰ has pointed out, the failure to view Christology as a mission accomplished in history results in a misunderstanding of its essential meaning.

(4) Without an adequate understanding of history, Israel, and the Christ, it is little wonder that the Gnostics were without a satisfactory eschatology. There is no anticipation of the future redemption of creation, no final judgment on the Last Day, no buoyancy of hope at the immanent return of the Lord. Lacking such ultimate sanctions, Gnosticism had neither ethical relevance nor social passion.⁷¹

Here the choices of faith are clear, and Robert Grant has summarized them well: "The triumph of orthodoxy meant the triumph of the created world over the aeons, of collective experience over individual freedom, of history over the freely creative imagination, of objectivity over

66. Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem*, 181.

67. Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, 118.

68. *Ibid.*, 150 (cf. pp. 182-185).

69. van Unnik, *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, 50 (cf. p. 185 for a partial exception to this in the Apocryphon of James).

70. Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 3-4.

71. Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity in its Contemporary Setting*, 169-171; Lietzmann, *The Beginnings of the Christian Church*, 294.

subjectivity."⁷² These are the same choices which must be made today.

Once the Church has understood its own faith it must then proclaim it to others. There is a striking similarity between the modern cultural milieu and the world in which Gnosticism first flourished. Modern man has contrived many new gadgets, but he has not concocted many new heresies! In the backlash of two world holocausts, a philosophy of meaninglessness (nihilism) has reappeared to haunt twentieth-century man.⁷³ Anxiety or resignation before a sense of the "absurd," as Camus would call it, has come to characterize many modern "gnostics."⁷⁴

Existentialism now flourishes in both pagan and Christian circles as a result of this "failure of nerve." Its individualistic anthropocentricity is strongly akin to primitive Gnosticism, and, in more extreme forms such as theosophy, anthroposophy, Swedenborgianism, Unity movement, and the religious psychology of C. G. Jung, the mythological element is prominent as well.⁷⁵

How shall the Church confront such a world? Like the New Testament, it must speak to the profound sense of divided existence (dualism) of which modern man is painfully aware. It is here that the theological emphasis emanating from Soren Kierkegaard and elaborated by thinkers as diverse as Barth, Bultmann, and Buber will be particularly relevant. However, Nag Hammadi provides fresh caution to those who would attempt a thoroughgoing restatement of distinctive Christian concepts in existential categories (demythologizing).⁷⁶ "In the controversy with Gnosticism in

72. Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, 183.

73. On nihilism generally see the forthcoming study of Helmut Thielicke, *Nihilism: Its Origin and Nature—With a Christian Answer* (announced by Harpers for 1961). Specifically see Hans Jonas, "Gnosticism and Modern Nihilism," *Social Research*, 19:430ff., 1952.

74. On Gnosticism in contemporary American culture see the essay, "Journalism and Joachim's Children" which appeared in *Time*, March 9, 1953, pp. 57-61. This is based on the detailed analysis of Gnosticism in modern politics by Eric Voegelin, *The New Science of Politics*.

75. On the relationship of Gnosticism to modern existentialism see the perceptive remarks of Otto Piper in *Theology Today*, 15: 131-135, April, 1958.

76. Robert Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, 120 ff.; Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem*, 82.

the second and third centuries the main point at issue was whether the Christian faith could be detached from its Biblical and historical basis and presented as a form of Hellenistic theosophy."⁷⁷ It is precisely this problem with which the Church must struggle in our day. But to "gnostics" in every generation the Gospel provides a stubborn and difficult reminder: "For the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men" (1 Cor. 1:25).

77. C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 136-137.

A Critique of Contemporary Learning

BY ROBERT A. PROCTOR, JR.

Johann Friedrich Herbart is credited with being the "father of scientific psychology." Even if one should dispute this claim, credit must be given Herbart as one of the earliest educators with "more-than-casual" concern for learning theory. The publication of his *Psychology as Science* (1825), and the setting forth of his theory of an "appreciative mass," introduced the approach of an empirical science to the problems of learning. After Herbart, however, scientific interest in learning theories lay dormant until the turn of the century except for the passing interest of Hermann Ebbinghaus in memory and forgetting.

Twentieth Century Developments

Modern learning theory began with the work of Ivan Petrovitch Pavlov and Edward L. Thorndike. Pavlov is usually credited with being the originator of the contiguous or conditioning theories of learning.

In Pavlov's original experiment, using dogs as subjects, he found that when the stimulus was meat powder placed on the dog's tongue, there would be an innate, unlearned response in the flow of saliva. He also discovered that by sounding a buzzer at the time the meat was placed in the dog's mouth, he could teach (condition) the dog to salivate in response to the buzzer without the meat. He referred to this phenomenon as the "conditioned reflex."

W. A. Bousefield questions this in an article in the *American Psychologist*. He quotes from a play written about 1615 by Lope de Vega:

Saint Ildefonso used to scold me and punish me lots of times. He would set me on the bare floor and make me eat with the cats of the monastery. These cats were such rascals that they took advantage of my penitence. They drove me mad stealing my choicest morsels. It did no good to chase them away.

Inaugural address as Associate Professor of Psychology of Education in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, delivered January 25, 1961.

But I found a way to enjoy my meals when I was being punished. I put them all in a sack, and on a pitch black night took them out under an arch. First I would cough and then immediately whale the daylight out of the cats. They whined and shrieked like an infernal pipe organ. I would pause for a while and repeat the operation—first a cough, and then a thrashing. I finally noticed that even without beating them the beasts moaned and yelped like *el diablo* whenever I coughed. I then let them loose. Thereafter, whenever I had to eat off the floor, I would cast a look around. If an animal approached my food, all I had to do was to cough, and how that cat did scat.¹

This Spanish playwright had a functional knowledge of classical conditioning almost three centuries before Pavlov. However, it did remain for Pavlov to formalize a contiguous learning theory which he called the conditioned reflex. Under the leadership of John Broadus Watson, American behaviorists accepted the work and theories of Pavlov almost in toto. One significant change made by the behaviorists was referring to the learned behavior not as a conditioned reflex but instead as a conditioned response. The behavior was then explained as occurring in anticipation of and preparation for food rather than in terms of the establishment of new neural circuits. The revised theory of conditioned response then became the basic theory of learning for the behaviorist and through that school has exercised a tremendous influence on American learning theory.²

The other major influence on the development of learning theories in America was that of Edward L. Thorndike. Thorndike's theories were not adopted by any particular "school of psychology." Neither did connectionism become a school, although its concept of learning is so extensive, it almost becomes a full systematic psychology.³ Tolman feels that Thorndike has been *the major* influence on American learning theory:

1. W. A. Bousefield, "Lope de Vega on Early Conditioning" *American Psychologist*, 10, (1955), p. 828.

2. Ernest R. Hilgard, *Theories of Learning*, 2nd Edition (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.), pp. 48-53.

3. Peter Sandiford, "Connectionism: Its Origin and Major Features," Chapter III in *The Psychology of Learning*, Part II, 41st Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press), pp. 97-99.

The psychology of animal learning—not to mention that of child learning—has been and still is primarily a matter of agreeing or disagreeing with Thorndike, or trying in minor ways to improve upon him . . . all of us here in America seem to have taken Thorndike, overtly or covertly, as our starting point.⁴

While Thorndike's famous three laws of learning were based on research with animals, he stated, "Both theory and practice need emphatic and frequent reminders that man's learning is fundamentally the action of the laws of readiness, exercise and effect."⁵

The "Law of Readiness" states that "when an action tendency is aroused through preparatory adjustments, sets, attitudes, and the like, fulfillment of the tendency in action is satisfying, non-fulfillment is annoying."⁶

In other words, when one is all set to do something, has made preparation for it, or perhaps has even started the activity, it is satisfying to complete the action, and frustrating to have this sequence interrupted anywhere short of completion.

The "Law of Exercise" hypothesized that with practice there would be an increase in the probability of a response being repeated when the stimulating situation recurred. Thorndike later "repealed" the law of exercise to say that exercise alone did not strengthen the connection between the situation and response.

This Law has been paraphrased to say, "Practice makes perfect." Thorndike's "repeal" (really a modification) came about chiefly as a result of his own continued research and his intellectual honesty. In the earlier period he was unduly influenced by the "learn by doing" philosophy which later experiments failed to validate fully. It is true, however, that the constant attacks upon his theories by the Behaviorists and Gestaltists served as motives for both continued research and revision. Thorndike's revision said practice without reward did not strengthen the connection between stimulus and response.

4. E. C. Tolman, "The Determiners of Behavior at a Choice Point," *Psychological Review*, 45, (1938) p. 11.

5. Edward L. Thorndike, *The Psychology of Learning* (N. Y.: Columbia University Press, 1913), p. 23.

6. Hilgard, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Thorndike's "Law of Effect" is the heart of his theory. This law refers to the strengthening or weakening of the learnings as a result of the consequences of the learned behavior. The greater the reward or success, the greater the tendency to repeat the behavior when confronted with a similar problem situation. Conversely, the greater the punishment or failure, the greater the tendency to avoid that behavior sequence which led to an undesired effect. However, Thorndike later concluded that the positive effect of reward was much greater than the negative effect of punishment.

Attempts at Reconciliation

There have been many theorists who, with a bias favoring either contiguous or effect theories, could see some truth in the opposing view. Several of these men have attempted to incorporate in one theory some views of both Watson and Thorndike. Two of these merit our special attention.

Clark Hull.—Until his death in 1952, Clark L. Hull was the dominant figure in a group of theorists known as the neo-behaviorists. This movement probably started with Woodworth's revision of Watson's basic Stimulus-Response formula to a Stimulus-Organism-Response formula.⁷ Agreeing with Woodworth, Hull sensed the implications of this revision for the classical conditioning formula. No longer could changes in behavior due to experience be explained in terms of the response to an original stimulus being transferred to a conditioned stimulus simply because the two occurred together. Since no major revision of Hull's 1952 theory has appeared, this discussion will be limited to that theory.

Hull's basic statement is that for a response to be learned, it must first occur and be rewarded. Each time a response is rewarded, its functional connection with the antecedent stimulus situation is strengthened through reinforcement. Hull's theory has thus come to be known as the reinforcement theory. In essence, this is superimposing Thorndike's law of effect upon classical conditioning.

Most of Hull's formal theory deals with the principles of reinforcement as stated in postulates and corollaries. These deal with both primary and secondary reinforcement.

7. Robert S. Woodworth, *Psychology* (Revised Edition), (New York: Holt, 1929).

The almost synonymous terms "drive reduction," "need reduction," "drive-stimulus reduction" simply mean this: When one is faced with a problem situation for which he does not have a ready solution, some form of tension or discomfort results. When the problem is solved, the goal reached, or the need met, these tension systems are released. For example, a hungry white rat learns to press the correct lever to get food, eats, and the hunger drive is reduced. Or, a seminary student has a term paper assigned, the deadline approaches, and the tensions mount. When the paper is completed and handed in before the deadline there is often a conscious release of tension.

Primary reinforcement is the result of direct need reduction. This may be drive reduction in case the learned behavior leads to the satisfaction of basic biological needs such as hunger. Or, primary reinforcement may result from the reduction of cravings, desires, or social motives as well as the satisfaction of basic needs. A paraphrase of Hull's primary reinforcement postulate would state that, when a response is closely associated with a stimulus trace and this stimulus-response conjunction is associated with a rapid decrease in drive-produced stimuli, there will result an increase in the tendency for that stimulus trace to evoke that response.⁸

Up to this point, Hull's theory sounds more like a modification of Thorndike than of Watson. However, in the postulates and corollaries concerning secondary reinforcement and habit formation, his true neo-behaviorism becomes more apparent. In the corollary regarding secondary reinforcement, it is stated that when a neutral stimulus trace has been closely associated with a rapid decrease in drive-stimuli, the hitherto neutral stimulus trace acquires a tendency to bring about the reduction of the drive-stimuli, so that the previously neutral stimulus trace acquires "the power of acting as a reinforcing agent."⁹ Hilgard interprets this as meaning,

... that a neutral stimulus trace associated consistently with a reinforcing state of affairs acquires two functions (and both at once): (1) the power to arouse a secondary drive, and (2) the power to re-

8. Clark L. Hull, *A Behavior System: An Introduction to Behavior Theory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), pp. 5-6.

9. *Ibid.*—p. 6.

duce drive stimuli, and hence act as a secondary reinforcing agent.¹⁰

In terms more familiar to the educator, the difference between primary and secondary reinforcement is the difference between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. When we offer candy (which satisfies a basic need and a craving) or gold stars, certificates, pins, or grades (which may meet a social need for group prestige) as "rewards" for learning, we are applying the principle of secondary reinforcement. In this case, we have made the content to be learned a neutral stimulus trace and attempted to associate it with a decrease in drive stimuli simply by having the two occur at the same time. We overlook the fact that for such learning to be retained, continuous secondary reinforcement is necessary.¹¹ How much better if we create in the learner a desire to learn and thereby cause the principles of primary reinforcement to become operative.

For later consideration, we need to look at two other concepts of Hull. First, the postulate regarding habit strength as a function of reinforcement. A rather free paraphrase of this postulate would state that habit strength becomes greater with each reinforced (i.e., rewarded) recurrence of the habit. However, each succeeding rewarded repetition increases habit strength less than the previous one.

Also important in reinforcement theories is the concept of fractional antedating responses. These are pre-goal responses made in anticipation of the goal and in the belief that such responses are leading toward drive-satisfaction. The stimuli present along the goal route then serve a steering function in behavior. These stimuli also serve an important secondary reinforcement function in that they make it possible for the primary reinforcement, which occurs upon reaching the goal, to move back and reinforce preparatory acts far from the goal.¹²

For example, the student with the term paper assigned

10. Hilgard, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.

11. Clark L. Hull, "Conditioning: Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," Chapter II in *The Psychology of Learning*, 41st N.S.E. Yearbook, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 68.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 65-68.

13. Hilgard, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124.

has learned from previous experience that the library has certain research tools, journals, books and so on which have been helpful in the past. He returns to these and is guided by them. As he makes significant progress some tension reduction occurs before the project is completed. Each time the procedure proves valuable, he is more likely to continue to follow it in the preparation of term papers.

O. Hobart Mowrer.—Mowrer has taken a different approach from that of Hull in an attempt to reconcile the theories of Pavlov and Thorndike. His "two-factor" approach recognizes the seemingly opposed theories as being complementary to each other. Whereas Hull had attempted to superimpose the law of effort upon conditioning, or in Mowrer's words, had laid them "side-by-side," Mowrer's two-factor theory places them "end-to-end."¹⁴

In an article published in the *Harvard Educational Review* in 1947 (Vol. 17, pp. 102-148), Mowrer sets forth two basic alterations necessary in the Pavlovian and Thorndikian theories before they could be made complementary. First, conditioning, or sign learning, must be restricted to emotional learning. These emotions which are initially a response become a stimulus and motive and then operate as "intervening variables." Second, it must be recognized that effect, or solution learning, may occur when the organism is motivated by an acquired or secondary drive as well as by a primary or "metabolic" drive.¹⁵

Sign learning then occurs when a formerly neutral stimulus accompanies drive induction, or onset; is mediated by the autonomic nervous system; involves glands and smooth muscles; and results in involuntary or emotional responses.

On the other hand, solution learning occurs with drive reduction; is mediated by the central nervous system; involves the skeletal muscles; and results in voluntary or behavioral responses.

After differentiating between sign and solution learning, Mowrer is then ready to suggest that while they may on

14. O. Hobart Mowrer, "Learning Theory," *Journal of Educational Research*, 46 (1952), pp. 475-495.

15. O. Hobart Mowrer, *Learning Theory and Behavior* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960), pp. 76-77.

rare occasions occur alone, both are needed to explain most learnings. He further suggests that usually sign learning precedes solution learning. For example, one sees a danger signal and responds first with fear. This fear response then becomes a stimulus and motive for responses which result in avoidance behavior.¹⁶

Mowrer's contribution is in distinguishing between emotional and behavioral learning and in showing the relationship between them.

Shortcomings of Learning Theories

Before looking at the positive contributions of contemporary learning theory and its implications for religious education, several deficiencies are noted.

Comparative psychology.—As one reviews the experimental data upon which current learning theories are based, he has the distinct impression that they would make a more valuable contribution to religious education if we could enroll white mice rather than persons in church educational organizations. These theories are based too much on animal learning and reveal a great lack in experimental research involving human subjects.

Limited areas.—The majority of the studies in learning are restricted to relatively simple problem-solving situations. Areas more important to religious education such as content learning, concept development, and the learning of attitudes have been either slighted or completely ignored.

Controlled conditions.—The artificial laboratory conditions which prevailed in many studies bear only a few similarities to the classroom situation. Motivation is easy to control by food deprivation with mice in a maze or puzzle box. An equal desire for Bible study could not be assumed even if a junior boy had been deprived of the privilege for a year.

Needed research.—One of the great needs in both secular and religious education is solid research in the area of human learning. This is a contribution that the School of Religious Education of this Seminary should and can make during the coming years. Niebuhr has defined the theologi-

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-80.

cal school as the "intellectual center of the Church's life."¹⁷ This implies that it must also be the research center of the Church.

Too many of the procedures and methods used in our programs of religious education have simply grown like "Topsy." Others have been "borrowed" from secular education without recognizing some significant differences between the aims and objectives of the two programs. Many of these had not been validated in secular education either by experimental data or by experience. The business of religious education is too serious to continue to build on "hunches" and borrowed, unproven techniques. The Religious Education Association of the United States and Canada has recognized this in scheduling a Research Planning Workshop to be conducted at Cornell University, August, 1961.

Respectable and useful research is costly and time-consuming. If we are to fulfill our function as a research center as well as a teaching agency for the denomination, increased efforts must be made to secure research funds from denominational agencies, philanthropic foundations, and other sources. Time must also be provided in the schedule of faculty members to participate in and direct worthy research projects.

Should the proposed Institute for Advanced Studies become a reality on this campus, certainly there should be a Research Professor of Religious Education on its staff.

Specific areas of needed research include longitudinal studies of the religious development of children, youth, and adults. Such studies should be of the scope and caliber of those directed by Terman¹⁸ at Stanford University and Gesell¹⁹ at Harvard. These would provide comprehensive data concerning the religious, spiritual, and moral development of all ages and could serve as a sure foundation upon which more effective Christian education could be structured. Important factors contributing to such phenomena as (1) lost faith, (2) a return to religion, (3) spiritual ma-

17. Richard H. Niebuhr, *The Purpose of the Church and Its Ministry* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), p. 107.

18. Lewis M. Terman and Melita H. Oden, *The Gifted Child Grows Up* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1947).

19. Arnold Gesell; Frances L. Ilg; and Louise B. Ames, *Youth, the Years from Ten to Sixteen* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956).

turity, or (4) a commitment to a church-related vocation could be isolated and studied.

Another area in which more information is needed concerns the development of religious concepts. At what age do such concepts as sin, death, repentance, regeneration, and a whole host of others become functional? In secular research, applicable experimental methods have been developed by Piaget²⁰, Deutsche²¹, Heidbreder²², and Smoke²³ but must be adapted and applied specifically to these questions if we are to know the answers.

There continues to be a wide variety of teaching methods used by teachers with all age-groups. One reason for this is that nobody really knows which method is most effective in a given situation. Most elementary workers think children learn more and enjoy the learning experiences more with "activity teaching." We are told that adults want to participate in the teaching-learning process and learn most efficiently when they do. Are these assumptions true? There is some evidence that they are, but the data are inconclusive for a religious education situation.

Contributions of Learning Theory

Even with its shortcomings, modern learning theory does have some valuable contributions to make to religious education.

Motivation.—Experimentation shows rather clearly that the most effective teaching can be done if the teacher is working with a motivated organism. Most theories list as the first step in a sequence of behavior leading to change, some form of primary or secondary drive.

Action.—When an organism is motivated, tension systems develop. These result in some form of discomfort and cause the organism to act. This action is in a direction which the organism believes will meet the need and relieve the tension. The inexperienced organism may waste much time and effort in random non-adjustive behavior.

20. Jean Piaget, *The Language and Thought of the Child* (New York: Humanities Press, 1952).

21. J. M. Deutsche, *The Development of Children's Concepts of Casual Relations* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minn. Press, 1937).

22. Edna Heidbreder, "The Attainment of Concepts," *Journal of General Psychology*, 35 (1944), pp. 173-223.

23. Kenneth L. Smoke, "Negative Instances in Concept Learning," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 16 (1933), pp. 583-588.

Results.—There is almost unanimous agreement that there is at last some truth in Thorndike's "Law of Effect." The importance which Hull placed on reward and reinforcement has already been shown. Mowrer does not dispute its practical importance but would insist that punishment as well as reward may have a reinforcing effect, though of a negative sort. Miller and Dollard conclude that there is no unmotivated or unrewarded learning.²⁴ There is at least general agreement that an organism is most likely to repeat a behavior pattern if its results are satisfying.

Implications for Religious Education

Motivation.—Translating the findings of the experimental theorist into the language of the educator, it says the most efficient learning begins with a felt need on the part of the learner. This has many implications for the religious educator.

First, the teacher must know something of the needs and characteristics of those whom he would teach. This calls for a study of the developmental psychology of the age one is teaching so that he might know their general needs. Beyond this, it says that every teacher must know the individual personal needs of each learner.

Too often the teacher begins with the content of a lesson rather than with the recognized needs of the learner. A real hunger for Bible knowledge and an understanding of the Christian faith is assumed. Most of the time, this assumption is not valid in either the Sunday School, Training Union, or the worship service. One reason this is true is that many persons have never seen any relevance of the teaching of Scripture to the needs of their everyday lives. According to this aspect of the theories, the teacher whose teaching, or the pastor whose preaching, is not related to the life needs of persons cannot expect to change lives for Christ.

Action.—During the action stage of learning, the teacher's function is to serve as a guide. It would certainly be senseless for each generation to repeat the cumulative mistakes of the human race. In the learners' attempt to meet

24. N. E. Miller and J. C. Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

a felt need, the teacher must plan experiences which will meet that need and then guide the learner as he discovers the most direct path to the goal. This may be through questioning, guided Bible study, or counsel in applying Christian truths to life.

Results.—If a teacher or pastor begins with the needs of which a pupil or parishioner is conscious, guides him in his thinking or action along a route where he discovers a way to meet those needs, the experience will be a satisfying one. Whether it is the meeting of an educational organization, a worship service, or prayer meeting, each time he is thus rewarded for his behavior, the tendency to repeat it is increased. In this day when there are so many demands upon everyone's time, can we honestly expect persons to continue to attend meetings where the deep needs of their lives are not met?

Other implications.—These suggestions have all been related to the local church situation. There is at least one implication that emerges from this study for religious education on the curriculum-planning level. Religious educators have tended to set forth aims and objectives and then to move from these directly to the planning of curricular experiences designed to meet these aims. One important step is often omitted or neglected. It is the discovery of those concepts and attitudes which the learner must develop or change before the desired change in his behavior can be effected. According to this, after the aims for a particular program of religious education have been clearly and specifically stated, attention should be given to those concepts and attitudes necessary to fulfill these aims. A variety of curricular experiences should then be planned which will result in the development of these concepts and attitudes which then become guiding forces in the behavior of the learner.

Summary

The most challenging opportunity that lies before us today is the changing of lives for Christ in the direction of greater Christlikeness. Modern learning theory can make some suggestions to help us become more effective in our task. However, many questions still exist which can only be answered through diligent research.

Book Reviews

I. Books By The Faculty

Introducing Christian Ethics. By Henlee H. Barnette. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1961. XIV plus 176 pages. \$3.75.

The relation of faith and morals has been a persistent concern of the Christian Church. Professor Barnette recognizes our debt to those men who have wrestled with the problem of an applied Christianity. His own book becomes a part of the total discussion concerning the principles and practice of Christian ethics. The purpose of the volume, according to the author, "is to provide an introduction to Christian ethics which gives more attention to the Biblical basis and the role of the Holy Spirit than is usually given in current texts on the subject" (p. VIII). This description of purpose also defines the limits of discussion and accounts for certain omissions, e.g., the lack of attention to philosophical ethics.

In its format, the book consists of two parts. Part one deals with the basic principles of Christian morality. The introductory chapter presents the author's definition of Christian ethics as "a systematic explanation of the moral example and teaching of Jesus applied to the total life of the individual in society and actualized by the power of the Spirit" (p. 3). This "operational definition" is the thesis sentence which is elaborated upon throughout the book.

The definition perhaps needs some expansion for the author devotes four chapters to an analysis of Hebrew morality, its characteristics, and its specific content as found in the Decalogue, the prophets and the "Sages." This reviewer has no quarrel with such a procedure for Jesus' ethical teaching must be seen against the background of the Old Testament and the tenets of post-exilic Judaism. Five chapters are given over to an analysis of New Testament ethics: the character and content of Christ's ethic, with special attention to the Sermon on the Mount; the expression or application of his ethic in the epistles of Paul and in the other New Testament writings. Chapter ten discusses the role of the Holy Spirit in reference to the understanding and implementation of the Christian ideal.

The second section of the book deals with the application of Christian moral principles in certain areas of responsibility. These include duties to self, marriage and the family, race relations, economic issues, and political life. In each chapter, the author discusses the nature and extent of the social problem, drawing on the social, psychological, and political sciences for an accurate description of that problem and deriving from the Christian faith the norms for the re-direction of human behavior. Herein is guidance for those who look for insight into thorny and controversial issues such as

marriage, divorce, remarriage, the Christian attitude toward war, the Christian way in race relations, and Christian responsibility in the economic and political realms. The author indicates the complexity of the problems he describes and is conscious that Christian living in our society demands both spiritual redemption and moral effort of a high order.

As a book, *Introducing Christian Ethics* is "a compact with power." The book includes a great amount of material compressed within a brief compass. In the interpretation of Biblical passages, the author has shown his awareness of linguistic nuances, the refinements of the Biblical languages which are indispensable for accurate Biblical research. Though acquainted with the various schools of thought which have "colored" Biblical theology, the author is "not brought under the power of any." He has been concerned to discover the actual historical teaching of the Scriptures and to show their relevance for an intelligent Christian ethic for our time.

The author's approach to Christian ethics shows his confidence in the validity of principles or specific norms which grow out of Biblical revelation. Yet he advocates no legalism. For the Christian is guided by the Holy Spirit in moments of ethical decision and so arrives at the will of God for that moment. Thus one is kept from a legalistic ethic on the one hand and from a purely subjective ethic on the other. It is in his discussion of the role of the Holy Spirit in Christian ethics that the author makes a strong contribution. Few texts on Christian ethics deal with this theme at all. Professor Barnette's own conviction is expressed in these summary sentences concerning the nature of the Christian ethic: "Its principle is the will of God as love and its power the Holy Spirit. Love is the basic ethical principle and the Spirit is the enabling power of Christian living. Ethical principles, therefore, must be related to moral action through the dynamic of the Spirit" (p. 101).

As a systematic approach to Christian ethics, Professor Barnette's book needs to be supplemented by a basic work on philosophical ethics which indicates the contributions of philosophy to the development of ethical theory. In his statement of purpose, however, the author (probably "biased" by the wishes of the publisher for a smaller book) limited the scope of his responsibility, though he is aware of the necessity for such a philosophical inquiry.

Beyond its value as a text for students and a resource book for pastors and laymen, this book is significant for other reasons. For one thing, it is the first volume on systematic Christian ethics written by a Southern Baptist and it is the first such volume published by the official press of Southern Baptists. This book, along with the writing and oral communication of other Southern Baptist leaders, reflects the developing social consciousness of the denomination and the quest for an adequate social ethic. Dr. Barnette has the intellectual, emotional, and spiritual equipment to participate in that quest. He has for nearly a decade been introducing Christian ethics to students at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. This book,

his first major literary voyage, contains the distilled wisdom of an even longer period than that decade of study and reflection. So well has he sailed, let us hope that he takes his barque to sea again!

Nolan P. Howington

Ephesians: Pattern for Christian Living. By Ray Summers. Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1960. 156 pages. \$3.00.

Dr. Ray Summers, Professor of New Testament Interpretation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, adds to his growing number of significant contributions to New Testament study with this commentary on Ephesians. The commentary is offered as a non-technical, devotional study rather than as a critical one, and for that reason many critical problems and themes associated with the epistle are not dealt with. The author's own assumptions or conclusions are clearly stated, and a complete bibliography is provided in which one may find these critical problems discussed. Although research in other works is reflected, the conclusions are primarily the author's own and have grown out of years of study and teaching in the Greek New Testament.

Ephesians is viewed as the loftiest expression of the two primary doctrines in the New Testament: "how to be saved and how the saved ought to live." Doctrine and ethics both are presented as being integrated in this expression of basic Christianity. That the theme of redemption and its application to life is found by the author may best be seen by a list of the major sections of the commentary: "The Plan of Redemption," "The Propagation of Redemption," "The Application of Redemption in Church Life," "The Application of Redemption in Personal Life," "The Application of Redemption in Domestic Life." Primary emphasis is not given in the study to the concept of the Church in Ephesians, and one could wish that more attention and emphasis had been devoted to this significant doctrine. (Such an emphasis has been made by a former Southern Seminary faculty member, Dr. W. O. Carver, in his book *The Glory of God in the Christian Calling*.)

The commentary abounds in homiletic and devotional values, and it will doubtless have its greatest usefulness to pastors, students, and laymen who desire a non-technical aid to their study of this epistle. Dr. Summers' work will take its place as a contribution to the continuing stream of Christian literature on a profound Christian document.

Hyran E. Barefoot

II. Book Reviews

The New English Bible: New Testament. Published jointly by Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press, 1961. 447 pages. \$4.95.

This is the completely new translation of the New Testament for which the English-speaking world has been looking since May

1946 when the first public move in that direction was started in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Through a series of conferences, interested representatives met until the actual work of translation was started in January 1948. Since that time the Joint Committee charged with this responsible task has met twice each year. The New Testament section of the work is represented in this volume; the Old Testament section and the Apocrypha are still in process of translation.

Denominational considerations played no part in the appointment to membership on the panels for translation. The introductory pages reveal that this is a joint production of nine different church bodies (Baptist, Church of England, Church of Scotland, Congregational, Society of Friends, Methodists, Presbyterian, Council of Churches for Wales, United Council of Christian Churches and Religious Communions in Ireland) plus the British and Foreign Bible Society and the National Bible Society of Scotland. This is representative of the entire Christian movement in Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland.

In 1611 the King James Version of the Scriptures appeared and though it faced much opposition it came to be known as the Authorized Version and has never been replaced in popular use in the English-speaking world. The Revised Version appeared in 1881 departing from dependence upon the relatively late manuscripts which were used in making the Authorized Version and employing a smaller, earlier, better group of manuscripts. The translators of the Revised Version labored, however, under a definite handicap. They were instructed to introduce as few alterations (in the King James Version) as possible and to limit the expression of such alterations to the language of the Authorized Version. This resulted in a continuation of the archaic English which by 1961 has become all the more archaic.

The translators of *The New English Bible* have been less limited. First of all, textual criticism has moved forward with remarkable strides in the last seventy-five years with the comparative study of many newly discovered manuscripts, fragments, and related materials in the areas of the papyri and ostraca. A better text is the inevitable result. In the second place, these translators have not been limited to the terminology of three and a half centuries ago. The result is a translation into living modern English, a clear and contemporary vocabulary. This extends even to a rather definite "British flavor" at times! Where else would one find the expression "they were offended in him" rendered "so they fell foul of him" (Matt. 13:57)?

The most instructive introduction to the translation reveals that the committee saw its task as that of understanding the original Greek as precisely as possible and then saying in native idiom what they believed the author to be saying in his own idiom. At times this called for a clear and unmistakable reading where the method behind the KJV and the AV allowed comfortable ambiguity. It is in

these areas that the committee's work will be most critically challenged because every person who can read Greek feels that he can make a better translation than anyone else! At no place has this committee "stayed on the fence"; its renderings are clear though sometimes open to debate. The committee was fully aware of this.

The working method was direct. One member of the panel was invited to submit a draft translation of a particular book or section. This draft was submitted to the members of the panel for their consideration. Then they met, discussed the translation in round-table fashion verse by verse, sentence by sentence. Each member brought to the others his views of the meaning of the original text. This was continued until a "meeting of minds" was reached. In cases where there could not be an absolute agreement on one of two readings, one reading was placed in the body of the translation and the other was placed in a footnote. Often the qualified reader will feel that the placings should have been reversed!

While there is much which appears to be "paraphrase" or "interpretation," the committee's view is that the resulting work is a *translation*, free rather than literal (The American Standard Version of 1901 remains the best *literal* translation—literal even to a fault in some sentence structure!), but a translation nevertheless. By use of a panel of literary advisers, the committee has achieved a poetic beauty in rhetoric, a quality much needed in other translations, both British and American. Even this committee, however, unfortunately left a very harsh and awkward pattern of ending sentences and clauses with prepositions when no good purpose is served in so doing. For instance, see: Matthew 13:53-55, "Where does he get this wisdom from, . . . Where then has he got it from?"; Mark 6:24, "What shall I ask for?"; Luke 13:20, "What shall I compare the kingdom of God with?"; John 6:21, "The boat reached the land they were making for." According to an often told story, Sir Winston Churchill might approve of this but it leaves the American reader asking, "What did they do that *for*?"

The rhetorical beauty of the translation is observed often: Matthew 7:6, "Do not feed your pearls to pigs." Matthew 21:41, "He will bring those bad men to a bad end." Mark 9:43-45, "If your hand is your undoing, cut it off . . . if your foot leads you astray, cut it off." Luke 16:8, 13, "The worldly are more astute than the other-worldly . . . you cannot serve God and Money." Luke 24:25, "How dull you are . . . how slow to believe." Acts 17:18, "He would appear to be a propagandist for foreign deities . . . he was preaching about Jesus [masculine noun, i.e., a god] and Resurrection [feminine noun, i.e., a goddess]." Romans 8:26, "Through our inarticulate groans the Spirit himself is pleading for us." Romans 9:21, "Can the pot speak to the potter?" 1 Corinthians 13:6, "Love keeps no score of wrongs." This rhetorical pattern is carried out even to the extent of following questionable textual support for rendering Matthew 27:17, "Which would you like me to release to you—*Jesus* Bar-Abbas, or *Jesus* called Messiah?"

Examples of the poetic beauty of the translation are found wherever the text reflects a poetical pattern whether in quoting from the Old Testament or in an original part of the New Testament. This is particularly noted when the Servant-Songs from Isaiah are quoted. It is noted, too, where Paul, for instance, groups scattered Old Testament readings for a "poem" on the universality of sin—Romans 3:10-18. This is superb. Accuracy and beauty combine in the translation and format of the beatitudes in Matthew 5:3-10:

"How blest are those who know that they
are poor:
the Kingdom of Heaven is theirs.
How blest are the sorrowful;
they shall find consolation," etc.

A sense of freedom in rendering the Greek of the New Testament into twentieth century idiom has led the translators to give a variety of translations to a single word in different contexts. There is not always a fortunate result and at many of these places the committee's work will be most critically challenged. Several examples should be noted. First, *skandalidzo* and its cognates (usually translated "offend, stumble") is rendered several ways: Matthew 13:57, "So they fell foul of him." Matthew 26:31, "Tonight you will all fall from your faith on my account." Matthew 26:33, "Everyone else may fall away on your account." 1 Peter 2:8, "a stone to stumble against."

Second, the verb *pisteuo* (usually translated "believe") is rendered many ways. In different grammatical and syntactical constructions, it is translated: John 2:23, "Many gave their allegiance to him"; John 3:18, "The man who *puts his faith* in him . . . the unbeliever has already been judged . . . he has not *given his allegiance* to . . ." Here in one verse it is translated three different ways. Careful study discloses a "pattern" but to the surface reader the result may be confusion.

Third, this method is no better observed than in the various translations of *parthenos* (usually rendered "virgin"). Surprisingly in Matthew 1:23 (a quotation from Isaiah 7:14) the word is rendered "virgin." In Luke 1:27 the word is translated "girl"—"The angel Gabriel was sent . . . with a message for a girl betrothed to . . . , the girl's name was Mary." In the beautiful parable of the Wedding Party in Matthew 25:1 there were, according to this translation, "ten girls . . . five of them were foolish, and five prudent." In 1 Corinthians 7:28 the word is translated "virgin" but in verse 36 it is translated "partner in celibacy" and in verse 37 "partner in her virginity." This variety where *parthenos* is concerned reflects the committee's effort to "interpret" as they "translate." The effort in this instance is unfortunate if not abortive. On this last passage (1 Cor. 7:36-38) their footnote alternative translations reflect their struggles. It is extremely doubtful if their translation can be suc-

cessfully defended lexically, syntactically, or historically. Every other place the word *gamidzo* is used in the New Testament, it means "give in marriage" and it is always used in contrast with *gameo*, "to marry."

Fourth, one other word should be observed at this point—*paraskeua* (preparation). This which was preparation day for the Jewish Sabbath (the day before the Sabbath), is rendered: "Friday" (Matt. 27:62); "Preparation-day" (Mark 15:42); "Friday" (Luke 23:54); "eve" of Passover (John 19:14), where the word seems to mean "Preparation-day" of Passover week and not the evening before Passover. It is clear that the day was "Friday" of our calendar; it would have been clearer to have rendered it "Friday" in each instance as the committee rendered "first day of the week" as Sunday (Matt. 28:1; Mark 16:9; Luke 24:1; John 20:1; 1 Cor. 16:2). Their rendering of the John 19:14 passage in connection with their rendering of *pascha* (John 18:28) as "Passover Meal" (though everywhere else in the Gospel it means the *week*) probably reflects their view of a direct conflict between John and the Synoptics on the day Jesus observed "Passover."

With all its beauty and clarity the translation is at times too colloquial. It is so very colloquial that it speaks more clearly to the British reader than to the American! Perhaps this was intentional. Examples: Matthew 12:1, "pluck some ears of corn and eat them." This is "wheat" to the British reader but "raw roasting ears" to the American! Matthew 18:28 (and other places) "a few pounds" will still have to be converted to dollars just as the original "100 denarii" would. British readers may (Matt. 23:24) "strain off a midge, yet gulp down a camel," but Americans still strain off gnats! Mark 12:15, "Why are you trying to catch me out?" (test me). Luke 3:14, "Make do with your pay." Luke 15:14, "he began to feel the pinch." John 6:60, "This is more than we can stomach." John 21:6, "Shoot the net to starboard." Acts 5:33, "This touched them on the raw." Acts 10:11, "a thing coming down that looked like a great sheet of sail-cloth." I wonder if Peter's fishing boats were sail boats? 1 Corinthians 9:3, "To those who put me in the dock this is my answer." 1 Corinthians 5:9, "You must have nothing to do with loose livers." Wow!

All in all, the committee has produced a most readable and helpful translation. Will it, even in the British world, replace the King James Version? It is doubtful if this is intended. It will be widely and profitably used in personal study and devotion. One does not see it substituted for the King James in the many "readings" of the liturgy in the Church of England and the Church of Scotland; that would require the complete re-writing of the liturgy. As to "accuracy"—let him who is without his favorite rendering cast the first stone!

Ray Summers

Archaeology in the Holy Land. By Kathleen M. Kenyon. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960. 326 pages. \$6.95.

The story of Palestinian archaeology is not written by arm-chair archaeologists. Instead, it gathers about certain men and women who pioneer in basic research techniques which open up exciting new learning possibilities. These pioneers soon attract a following and in time a "school" emerges to lengthen the shadow of the teacher. Kathleen M. Kenyon already appears to be such a pioneer, and her "London school" pupils who learned the possibilities of controlled stratigraphic excavation at Jericho will likely play a significant role in Palestinian archaeology during the decade of the '60's.

This book is Miss Kenyon's restudy of the story of Palestine in the light of her work at Jericho. It spans the time from prehistoric beginnings to the post-exilic period, "with the emphasis upon the contribution that archaeology can make" (p. 9). As she notes, archaeology alone can write the story from 8000 to 3000 B.C. Since adequate literary evidence to provide a reasonably consecutive account is found only in the first millennium B.C., archaeology is a major resource for knowledge of the literate period also.

The story of Palestine is begun as an integral part of the story of the ancient Near East (p. 18), and from this cultural area setting the author moves quickly to a focus upon Palestine itself. She supplements the significant work of Dorothy Garrod at Mugharet el Wad and other places by citing evidence from Jericho of the transition process in which Natufian man changed from a hunter to a member of a settled community (p. 43). This occurred c. 7800 B.C. according to Carbon 14 dating. The great stone tower of Pre-Pottery Neolithic A defenses at Jericho (pl. 7, dated c. 7000 B.C.) pulls back the curtain on a Stone Age culture in Palestine which promises to be the most extraordinary advance in Palestine archaeology in the post war period even as it was in the pre-World War II period (See W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, p. 37).

A stratigraphic sequence is established for the Neolithic and Proto-Urban Periods, and comparative material from isolated sites, such as Mugharet Kebara (pl. 3b), Teleilat Ghassul (pp. 74, 76), and Tell Abu Matar (p. 78), is integrated and interpreted. Photographs and pottery drawings give a good typological introduction to the flints and pottery of these periods.

Since the earliest village culture known is found in the Jordan valley, it may be asked why this culture failed to become the first center of civilization. Miss Kenyon points out that environmental factors limited the progress of this culture. First, the complex society of early Near East civilization, beginning about 3000 B.C., needed more food production by fewer people to support the increasing number of craftsmen, traders, etc. The Jordan valley was too arid to support this, so the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates valleys outstripped Palestine. Second, raw materials essential for primitive industry were lacking. Therefore the great empires with their

culture of writing, calendars, irrigation, industry, and complex religious cultus became the centers of civilization and the larger cities in Palestine insulated themselves against outside aggression by constructing thick, mud-brick walls during the Early Bronze Age.

The Amorite migration of Asiatics ushered in the Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze period, and chaotic conditions existed until the coming of the Hyksos who re-established city life in Palestine (p. 160). The Hyksos ushered in the golden age of culture, evidenced in a superior pottery (p. 163), introduction of bronze for weapons (p. 164), and newly designed cities and fortifications (p. 173). This is the culture which the Patriarchs encountered in Palestine, and that which the Israelites encountered at the Conquest evolved from this.

Israel entered the land of Promise sometime between 1400 and 1200 B.C., and the author points out that the only change in culture that would indicate the arrival of a new people occurs at the transition between LBI and II, or about 1400 B.C. (p. 209). This, however, could indicate Habiru activity during the Amarna period. However, if Prof. Albright's view that the Habiru are local revolutionaries instead of invading nomads, their activity would not effect a change in culture. The only evidence that can be related to the Israelite Conquest left from LB Jericho is a fragment of building in Square H III, and it may be dated as low as 1325 B.C. Erosion has removed all other evidence (p. 211). This may be remains from the city destroyed by Joshua, but evidence is inconclusive. From other cities such as Bethel, Tell Beit Mirsim, and Tell Duweir, the "uninspiring" culture of LBII is brought to a violent end in the mid-13th century B.C. by the Israelites, according to Albright. However, Miss Kenyon is reluctant to ascribe this to the Israelites since the Sea Peoples or Merneptah of Egypt could have carried out the raids (p. 214). Her dating of the Exodus is not stated, but one would assume that she favors a date in LBII.

Major interest in the book is in the span of time covered by the occupation of Jericho. Since the story of Jericho practically ends in the 14th century B.C., little space is given to the Philistine and Monarchical periods. These, however, are covered more thoroughly in Prof. Albright's *Archaeology of Palestine*, while he treats the earlier periods in more summary fashion. Thus these two books, growing out of pioneer research by both field archaeologists, supplement each other if certain points are kept in mind.

Miss Kenyon offers some new terminology for chronological periods which differs from the Albright nomenclature. The first is a "Proto-Urban" Period, dated 3200 to 2800 B.C. (p. 98). This corresponds to Wright's EBI and late Chalcolithic of De Vaux. Wright feels that this culture belongs to the EB culture more than Chalcolithic, while De Vaux places it with Chalcolithic. Miss Kenyon calls it Proto-Urban because the urban civilization of EB developed from the components of this culture (p. 99). This time is paralleled in Egypt by the Protodynastic period and in Mesopotamia by the

Proto-Literate Age. Since the period is still obscure in Palestinian archaeology, and at Jericho, a change in nomenclature at this point may create more confusion than it eliminates.

The second new term is Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze, 2300-1900 B.C. (pp. 159, 161). This incorporates Albright's EBIV and MBI into a transition period during which the culture of the Amorites intrudes and a break with both EBIII and MBII seems to be warranted. Albright calls his EBIV a transitional phase (*Archaeology of Palestine*, p. 71) as he called Wright's EBI. Technically, EBIV and MBI represent a distinct period, and there is probably more reason to change nomenclature here than in the Proto-Urban Period. But there is still the need to divide the EB-MB Intermediate into two phases, so why change it?

In addition to the numerous pottery types represented in drawings, a bibliography of all Palestinian excavation reports since 1920 make this a valuable reference book as well as an up-to-date, lucid synthesis of the archaeology of Palestine as seen from the perspective of the epoch-making, London school work at Jericho.

Joseph A. Callaway

Darius the Mede. By John C. Whitcomb, Jr. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1959. 84 pages. \$2.75.

The author is professor of Old Testament in the Grace Theological Seminary of Winona Lake, Indiana. He has made one important contribution in this book, i.e. the clarification of the confusion concerning Gobryas. He shows that there have been two men, called Gobryas by modern books, who were thought to be the same person. In reality, one Gobryas was called Gubaru, the governor of Babylon, and the other Gobryas was Ugbaru, the governor of Gutium or Elam. However, the rest of the book is a postulation of possibilities.

He contends that Darius the Mede was Gubaru. Typical of his arguments is the statement "we need only point out that the inadequacy of alternative identifications serves to strengthen" his view (p. 49). He follows in a great measure the long outdated method of the "fundamentals," i.e. if you can show a weakness in your opponent's argument you have proved your case whether you produce any positive evidence for your opinion or not.

He is clear in showing that "Greek and cuneiform sources do not mention the name of Darius in connection with Gubaru the Governor of Babylon . . ." His thesis is, however, that Gubaru could have received the honorific title Darius, and since we do not know the name of Gubaru's father his father's name could have been Ahasuerus to agree with Daniel 9:1, and that Gubaru could have been a Mede. He makes a good case of possibilities.

He presents the evidence in the first three chapters. Chapter

four is an effort to refute the work of H. H. Rowley in regard to the identifying of Gubaru with Darius. Chapter five is an honest presentation of other views of identification of Darius. In chapter six, he defends Darius the Mede as "not a conflation of confused traditions." "For the Book of Daniel purports to be a sober and reasonable account of events that occurred at the end of the sixth century B.C., written by a contemporary observer" (p. 50). Since the fifth chapter of Daniel is such exact history and since many scholars hold that the book is a unit, he concludes the sixth century date. But he does not mention the precise accounts of Daniel 11 of a much later period.

One gets the impression that the author started out with a conclusion and wove together many hypotheses to support it. He climaxes his Summary and Conclusion by the discussion that since Jesus (Matt. 24:15-16) mentioned "Daniel the Prophet," this was a final pronouncement of the authenticity of everything connected with the name of Daniel.

John Joseph Owens

Bible Key Words. Vol II. Translated and edited by J. R. Coates and H. P. Kingdom. From Gerhard Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. 325 pages. \$4.00.

This represents the second volume of the Harper series of English translations of Kittel's monumental *Wörterbuch*, a theological lexicon which was begun in 1933 under the editorship of the late Gerhard Kittel and which is now continuing under the editorship of Professor G. Friedrich of Erlangen. This particular volume is a one-volume edition containing four books: Book I, *Lord*, by Werner Foerster and Gottfried Quell; Book II, *Gnosis*, by Rudolf Bultmann; Book III, *Basileia*, by Karl L. Schmidt et al.; Book IV, *Apostleship*, by Karl H. Rengstorf. Volume I of *Bible Key Words* was published in 1951 and dealt with these words: Love, The Church, Sin, Righteousness.

The authors are all specialists who are eminently qualified to deal with their subject matter, and they follow a consistent pattern of study in the treatment of each word. The etymology, derivatives, and counterparts of each word in relevant languages, especially Hebrew and Aramaic, are carefully studied. The history of each word is traced back to the classical Greek period and its usage is noted in Greek literature, the Old Testament, Jewish Rabbinic writings, the New Testament, and early church writings. The feature which distinguishes this lexicon from others is its primary aim at "inner lexicography" as opposed to "external lexicography," i.e. it is a theological lexicon which defines the special meanings which New Testament Greek words came to possess when they were adapted to the use of the Christian message.

Each word receives a specialized and somewhat technical study for which some knowledge of the Biblical languages is necessary for

full appreciation; however, the translators have shown concern for the layman by their translation and transliteration of many Greek and Hebrew words. The scope of the study, the very evident scholarship reflected, and the theological meaning revealed in the study of this particular group of key words so vitally related to the Biblical faith make this volume a most valuable tool for serious study of the New Testament. The total series, of which this present volume is truly representative, is clearly one of the more outstanding undertakings in Biblical study in our generation.

Hyran E. Barefoot

Gospel and Myth. By Giovanni Miegge. Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1960. 152 pages. \$4.00.

In some quarters Bultmannism has gone berserk, and many are bewildered as to the meaning of that strange German word *Entmythologisierung*. Much misunderstanding will result if it is dismissed as insignificant without careful discussion and careful consideration.

Entmythologisierung (demythologizing) is based upon the distinction between the German adjectives *historisch* and *geschichtlich*, the third meaning the historical or, as in this volume, "mere history" and the second the historic or, as in this volume, "real history." For example, the death of Christ may be looked upon as either a fact of history (*historisch*) or as faith's interpretation of this fact in the life of the Church (*geschichtlich*). Such a distinction is fruitful, but the danger arises when the application of this procedure reaches the place where it assumes that the historical facts can be supplanted by the faith of the Church. This would make all Christology mythology. It cannot be denied that mythological language is used in interpreting the life and death of our Lord, but the things that he said and did remain facts of history, even if it is considered "mere history."

The application of the principle of demythologizing in the hands of one possessed of the spirit of extreme historical skepticism leads to the conclusion that such a crucial event as the resurrection of our Lord need not be considered as historical at all (*historisch*). Matters such as the empty tomb and the bodily resurrection of our Lord can be treated with indifference, according to this skepticism. The faith of the early Church was no doubt based first of all upon the encounter with the transcendent personality of the risen Lord, but to assume that the bodily resurrection was of little consequence for them is inconceivable. Any effort to detach the transcendent personality from the fact of the historical Jesus will in our time as in the history of the early Church dissolve a theology of incarnation into a gnostic myth.

The special importance of Professor Miegge's work is the completeness with which he considers the literature which is available and the balance with which he points out both the values and the

dangers of Bultmann's challenge. His essay, along with that by Paul Althaus, *The So-Called Kerygma and the Historical Jesus* (Oliver and Boyd, 1959), are among the best for bewildered brethren.
Dale Moody

Life in the Son. By Robert Shank. Springfield, Missouri: Westcott Publishers, 1960. 380 pages. \$4.95.

Step by step the missionary, evangelistic, and educational theology of Baptists has broken out of the strait jacket of Calvinism inherited from the Synod of Dort (1618) via the Westminster Confession (1643) and the Second London Confession of 1677. What Baptist today believes that Christ died only for the elect and not for the whole world (limited atonement)? What Baptist believes the double decree of predestination? What Baptist will commit himself to the idea of irresistible grace? Very few indeed! Yet because of certain confessions (and we deny having creeds!) the idea of irreversible faith, based on the idea of irresistible grace, is maintained despite sober experience and sound exegesis of the Scripture to the contrary.

After reading the best statement of unconditional perseverance I knew (G. C. Berkouwer, *Faith and Perseverance*), I took up this volume for careful reading. Over and over the plain statements of Scripture are marshalled against traditional Calvinism. The arguments of Calvinism are criticized for their inconsistencies, so obvious even in a trained thinker like Berkouwer. It is of special interest to note that the author appeals for most support to two distinguished Southern Baptists: A. T. Robertson and Charles W. Williams. Only the great B. F. Westcott offers so much support for the exegesis in this volume. Alexander MacLaren, the renowned British Baptist preacher, comes in often for clear comment. It would be a pity if this young man is answered only by shibboleths and silence instead of sound exegesis. Here and there he seems to make too much of a passage, but the general argument is sustained and searching.

The weakest point in his exposition is his answer to the question: Is total apostasy without remedy? (Chapter 19). Of Hebrews 6:4-6 he says: "The present condition of deliberate, open hostility may conceivably be remedied and the persons renewed to repentance and salvation" (p. 318). Here he should again follow A. T. Robertson who says that the passage "bluntly denies the possibility of renewal of apostasy from Christ" and that "it is a terrible picture and cannot be toned down" (*Word Pictures*, Volume V, p. 375). The appeal to Rom. 11:23, which has reference to Israel, to prove that individual apostates can be restored is unsound exegesis.

He argues earnestly for a doctrine of conditional security, a security based upon constancy of faith. The faithfulness of God's grace is never called into question but the faithlessness of man is frequently pointed out. Dr. W. W. Adams has made an appeal in the introduction that should not be passed over. It is the appeal that any effort to refute the arguments of this book be discussed

in the same manner in which this book is written. The author should not be condemned without trial! Stagnation has set in when we assume that all questions of Biblical interpretation have been settled by confessions of faith written in the age of rationalism. It is time to let the Bible speak for itself. Dale Moody

An American Dialogue. By Robert McAfee Brown and Gustave Weigel. Foreword by Will Herberg. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960. 216 pages. \$2.95.

Facing Protestant-Roman Catholic Tensions. By Wayne H. Cowan. New York: Association Press, 1960. 125 pages. Cloth, \$2.50; paper, 50c.

Dialogue is the *novus modus* of Protestant-Roman Catholic relations. As Robert McAfee Brown has pointed out, dialogue is the sequel to a succession of means of confrontation during and since the Reformation: wars of religion, great polemics, studied indifference, false irenicism, conversion, and political jockeying.

The volume edited by Cowan consists of a series of essays in dialogue which were first published in the Protestant journal, *Christianity and Crisis*. Its fourteen contributors include such Protestants as John C. Bennett, Henry P. Van Dusen, C. Stanley Lowell, and Brown together with such Catholics as William Clancy, Francis J. Lally, and Weigel. Catholic contributors stress the existence of the liberal view of religious freedom within the Roman Church, while Van Dusen and Lowell remain unconvinced as to its tenability. Bennett seems more hopeful, pointing to Pope Pius XII's address to Italian jurists on December 15, 1953, and finds Paul Blanshard's approach too secularist and somewhat exaggerated as to the monolithic nature of Roman Catholicism. T. F. O'Dea warns of Catholic "hyper-integralists" and Protestant "hyper-reformationists." Clancy, admitting that his Catholic education failed to help him to understand Protestantism, finds nevertheless that Protestantism is less explicable than ordered skepticism. He and Protestant Robert Schlager agree that Catholicism and Protestantism divide on the issue of intellect versus will.

The Brown-Weigel volume, its foreword being written by a distinguished leader of American Judaism, is a more inclusive and significant treatment of Catholic-Protestant tensions. Brown's "rules for fruitful dialogue" have received widespread attention among thoughtful Americans. Brown's section has more extensive footnotes and bibliography, while Weigel's is more closely argued and articulated. Both Herberg and Weigel warn that humanistic secularism and the cult of Americanism threaten to displace Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism. Both Brown and Weigel find that statistics do not substantiate the claim that the Roman Church is gaining over Protestantism percentage wise in membership in this country. Brown acknowledges past restrictions on American Catholics, is aware of the renewal of Catholic Biblical scholarship, the liturgical

movement, and Catholic restudy of the Reformation, and contends that Catholics and Protestants need each other. Yet he is frank in pointing out reasons for Protestant concern about Catholic power and in locating the ultimate divisive issue in religious authority.

Weigel offers a Catholic interpretation of Protestant "piety," "morality," "stance," "fear" and "principle." The "Protestant stance" is a compound of "confident audacity," "intellectuality," and "modernity." Yet Weigel turns around to score Protestantism for its non-conceptual interpretation of the experience of faith. In fact, Weigel finds the Protestant principle to be something other than Biblical authority, justification by faith, or Tillich's constant protest against idolatry. It is rather the immediate experience of God, in which conceptuality is not central and which is to be interpreted by the believer in freedom restrained only by necessity of Biblical terms. Catholic faith as belief stands opposite Protestant faith as trust. The Protestant principle stands opposed to the Catholic principle, namely, salvation through a visible society, the extension of Christ's divine humanity, by whose sacraments God "ontologically changes the sinner inwardly and totally." While Brown speaks hopefully of Catholic ecumenism, Weigel more cautiously sees the essential conflict of the Protestant principle and the Catholic principle and calls for "para-ecumenical dialogue." To Weigel Protestants evidence the "double fear" of the loss of Protestant political and cultural dominance and of the death of Protestantism itself, while Catholics are confident of the indefectibility of the Catholic Church.

Weigel sees beyond the essential conflict of the two principles and the limitations of dialogue to conversion as a solution. Protestant impotence and Catholic persistence with "separated brethren" tip the scales, for Weigel, toward successful conversions to Catholicism. Brown bypasses conversion in his quest for dialogue. Depreciation of conversion so as to foster dialogue, characteristic of Brown, Pelikan, and other contemporary Protestant writers on Roman Catholicism, seems in the judgment of this reviewer to be an unnecessary and dangerous tendency. When Protestants shall fail to have the wherewithal (the gospel or the love) to seek and win Roman Catholics, they shall have defaulted their right to be Protestants.

James Leo Garrett

The Calas Affair: Persecution, Toleration, and Heresy in Eighteenth-Century Toulouse. By David D. Bien. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960. 199 pages. \$4.00.

This is a delightfully written account of an episode in Toulouse, France, in 1762, which is interesting itself and which casts much light upon certain eighteenth-century religious beliefs and attitudes. Jean Calas was tried, tortured, and executed for the alleged murder of his son, Marc-Antoine. In this book, the author traces the details of the episode. The report of the doctors who were called upon to examine the body indicated that Marc had "been strangled or hanged

either by himself or by others." The author marshals an impressive array of evidence giving the details of the alleged murder and the milieu in which it occurred.

The reader will surely ask the reason for so much attention to a matter of this kind. Why does the strange death of an obscure Frenchman two centuries ago merit a scholarly monograph? The reason lies in the significance which the author attaches to the episode as a revelation of certain social, religious, and psychological attitudes at this time in France. The study helps to illuminate certain changing Catholic stereotypes of Protestantism from 1750 to 1789. Intellectual and social history at its best, the study is based upon a painstaking examination of the primary sources. For example, the depositions of 193 trial witnesses were examined.

Catholics tended to identify certain antisocial qualities with Protestantism, which was regarded as intrinsically fanatical. Many Catholics believed that Calvinism sanctioned child murder. The episode which forms the center of this book came toward the end of Catholic intolerance based upon Protestant stereotypes. The author points out that the same year in which Calas died, ideas of the Enlightenment were entering the situation and modifying certain patterns of life and thought which permitted persecution of minority groups.

Several statements by the author suggest conclusions not only with reference to this particular episode but also concerning the general religious and social situation. For example, he indicates that the parliament before which the case was tried believed that "the fanaticism which made Protestants rebels by nature and by principle was present equally in the Calas family. . . ." He believes the atmosphere of the time was such that the cool, calculated action of homicide allegedly perpetuated by a Huguenot family for religious ends seemed entirely plausible to the Catholic magistrates. The assumption underlying the view of the magistrates was that Marc had secretly become a Catholic and for this reason his own family turned against him. The magistrates reflected a view described by the author as follows: "The associations that occurred to the Catholic when he thought about Protestantism were social unrest, civil rebellion, and collaboration with the foreigner in time of war." As a result of these strong historical forces, "Calas the man was blurred into an abstraction, Calas the Protestant. When the anxieties of the period declined, the anti-Protestant excitement was dead, but so, of course, was Jean Calas." Penrose St. Amant

Can Capitalism Compete? By Raymond W. Miller. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1959. XIV plus 264 pages. \$4.50.

The author, an experienced adviser on public relations affairs at home and abroad, has been a consultant to business firms and government agencies and a lecturer at Harvard's Graduate School of Business Administration and Pittsburgh University's Graduate

School of Public and International Affairs. This book is the result of several years research and travel in over fifty nations. His basic purpose is to explain the essential meaning and values of current American capitalism both to Americans and to peoples in other lands. He attempts to describe the ideological bases of American capitalism and Russian communism since these economic systems are in conflict with each other and since each is seeking the friendship of other governments. Miller criticises the Communist case against capitalism because Communism condemns, not America's present form of economic theory but the exploitive form of capitalism which once existed in this country. He also notes that many leaders in America unjustly condemn socialism, failing to differentiate between Russian Communism and the types of socialism found in other European lands.

Miller pleads for an understanding of "service capitalism" (the term he employs to characterize our present economic system) which preserves individual freedom and promotes the public interest. He feels that we have done a poor job in acquainting other peoples with the true meaning of our economic order. The task of presenting the benefits of our way of "free enterprise" belongs both to business concerns which have firms and personnel abroad and to our government itself. He notes certain attitudes that have hurt our nation: our failure to treat other races as equals and our arrogance due to our wealth. Christian missionaries and other "dedicated" persons have done more in the Orient and elsewhere to commend our nation than the military, the movie industry, or certain business men. This book reflects considerable religious idealism though it does not resort to platitudes. Miller lists some forms of American business activity which we should "export" because they have appeal and value for the economic life of other people: (1) the cooperative or nonprofit corporate association; (2) the small business; (3) the labor union; and (4) voluntary agencies, e.g., the National Association of Food Chains, National Grange, etc. These are some of the worthy things we can do to present our system of "service capitalism" in a favorable light.

The book does a bit of special pleading and fails to note certain weaknesses that still characterize capitalism. In the main, however, it presents a fair picture of our system of free enterprise, its vitality, its "service" motive, as over against communism. Miller's recurring thesis is that whether in America or in some other country, the basic concern of an economic order must be the preservation of human values.

Nolan P. Howington

Church Education for Tomorrow. By Wesner Fallaw. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960. 219 pages. \$3.75.

Wesner Fallaw, Professor of Religious Education at Andover Newton Theological Seminary, presents in this volume a thesis that will undoubtedly be the subject of discussion and debate for some

time to come. He proposes that ministers recover the emphasis on the teaching ministry which today has largely been lost. He further proposes that ministers, properly trained theologically and educationally, use week-day classes to teach the membership of the church. Only in this way, he says, will teaching have either the effectiveness or the depth which Christian teaching ought to have. Larger churches ought to employ multiple teaching ministers to carry out this function. Some churches might have eight to ten ministers. Each minister would have responsibility for from fifty to one hundred families. Each one should teach from eight to ten hours per week. The proposed classes would be larger than the typical classes today and would meet at appropriate times during the week. Laymen would continue to teach but their responsibility would be limited to teaching younger children or to carrying out projects and activities in the classes of the other age groups.

The author recognizes that a change in attitude toward the teaching ministry as well as a change in theological education would be necessary if his proposal were to be implemented. He discusses these needed changes at some length.

Although his emphasis on the need for recovering the emphasis on the teaching ministry has real merit, his suggestions for implementing this emphasis do not seem to be realistic or proper. In the Protestant tradition the layman must continue to have far more responsibility for ministry than is provided in Professor Fallaw's proposal.

Findley B. Edge

A Theology of Proclamation. By Dietrich Ritschl. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1960. 190 pages. \$3.50.

According to the judgment of the author of this book, much of what passes in the modern pulpit for preaching is not preaching at all. Even some so-called Biblical preaching is not preaching.

Dietrich Ritschl, who now teaches at Austin Presbyterian Seminary, wrote *A Theology of Proclamation* in a transitional period after leaving the pastorate to teach theological students. In his new setting he "tried to rethink and formulate *why* the Church is called to preach and *what* we are actually doing when we preach." He bases his thesis on Barth's "three forms of the Word": (1) the proclaimed Word, (2) the written Word, (3) and the revealed Word.

The type of sermon to which Ritschl points is an expository sermon subject to no rhetorical rules. "The content is what matters; form and technique will grow out of the content, not vice versa." The sermon always comes from a carefully selected Biblical text, preferably a text of several verses, and declares God's message from the very details and "one-sidedness" of the selection.

The sermonic approach that the author describes seems to be illustrated in the preaching of Barth, Thurneysen, Brunner, Luethi,

and Thielicke, though Ritschl calls for a type of preaching even more radical in concept than theirs.

As Ritschl sees it, the sermon is not mere exegesis and commentary that follows a verse-by-verse reading of the scriptures. It is proclamation that sets forth in up-to-the-minute "translation" of the text the message of the living God for a particular congregation. To achieve the ideal of proclamation, not only must the preaching passage be carefully selected and faithfully expounded, but also, since the office of proclamation has been given to the Church, not just to the minister, the congregation must at some point be actively involved in the selection or study of the text before the sermon is preached. What the Bible passage does to the preacher will determine form, tone, gestures, and illustrations in delivery. These will be shaped further by the uniqueness of the congregation to which the sermon is preached.

Ritschl is sharply critical of the book *On the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons* by John A. Broadus and Jesse Burton Weather- spoon, and of other books in line with this "classical" textbook. He sees their task as impossible, since "there are no rules, prescriptions, and principles for preparing and delivering a sermon." He is even fearful lest his own observations should in some way be considered by some to be normative.

Dietrich Ritschl has written a book that can lead a preacher to a searching evaluation of his pulpit ministry and can cause a teacher of preaching to take a second careful look at what he teaches. There is much to learn from him. But these questions seem to demand a more satisfying answer than Ritschl has given: Is Augustine's contention invalid, that if enemies of Christianity use rhetoric to assail Christianity, should not Christians use rhetoric to defend it? Is there no legitimate place in the sermon for systematic treatment of Biblical doctrines or for straightforward ethical instruction? Are there not universal aspects of human experiences to which the preacher may address himself in any preaching encounter, without prior assistance of a particular congregation? Are there no values in the cultural milieu of the hearers which may assist in establishing contact with them?

James W. Cox

III. Books In Brief

Atlas of the Classical World. Edited by A. A. M. van der Heyden and H. H. Scullard. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1960. 221 pages. \$15.00.

There is not a more interesting introduction to the classical world of Greece and Rome than this companion to Nelson's *Atlas of the Bible* (1956) and *Atlas of the Early Christian World* (1958). Its introduction is of a threefold nature. First, colored maps with notes and diagrams of historical events show the geography of vari-

ous historical periods. Secondly, a concise text of Greek and Roman history ties together the history portrayed on the maps. And thirdly, the most excellent photographs one could desire are interwoven with the text and maps to give the reader the "feel" of the country and its culture. Since early Christian history is treated in a companion volume, this book deals altogether with the history, religion, and culture of the pagan classical world as revealed by research in classical literature, archaeology, art, and geography.

Joseph A. Callaway

The Moabites. By A. H. van Zyl. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960. 240 pages. 15 guilders.

The first comprehensive study of the Moabites ever made was submitted by the author as a thesis entitled "Die Moabiete" at the University of Pretoria in 1955. This original study is now abridged and translated in the monograph reviewed here.

Moabite source material is notoriously scarce. Discounting the Balua'ah Stele and fragmentary inscription from Dhiban, the Mesha Inscription containing some 300 words, of which 130 are different, is the only Moabite document. Van Zyl does a first-rate bit of research, however, in relating this literary source to non-literary archaeological discoveries, Old Testament, cuneiform, and Egyptian references to Moab, and references in the Apocrypha and Josephus.

With the aid of surface exploration reports on Moab, the author discusses the topography and history of the country in the light of literary sources. Then he examines the language of the Mesha Inscription in the light of comparative Canaanite dialects. The concluding discussion of religion in Moab is disappointingly brief, because there is almost no source material from the Moabites on this subject.

This book opens doors to all that is known of the Moabites.

Joseph A. Callaway

Between the Testaments. By Charles F. Pfeiffer. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1959. 132 pages. \$2.95.

The author is Associate Professor of Old Testament in Gordon Divinity School and formerly taught in Moody Bible Institute. He has properly emphasized the need of understanding the years from c. 600 B.C. to 4 B.C. He has written for the elementary student and pastor a brief general survey of the history of that chronological age. The title is somewhat unfortunate in that it reveals a terminology of the past age when we could talk about the gap between Malachi and Matthew. The book starts in the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel and continues through the time of such books as Haggai, Zechariah, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel. So it is not "between the Testaments." The book is divided in two parts, i.e., The Persian

Period and The Hellenistic Period. After he gives the abbreviated view of the historical events, he presents a brief background of the various sects—Pharisees (3 pages), Sadducees (1 page), Essenes (3 pages), Zadokites (2 pages), and Zealots ($\frac{1}{2}$ page). The book is easy to read and has a sparsity of footnotes. It could serve to point a beginning student to the advantage and need of further study of this era.

John Joseph Owens

Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash. By Hermann L. Strack. New York: Meridian Books and Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959. 372 pages. \$1.45.

This standard work on the Jewish Talmud and Midrash went through five German editions before it appeared in English. This Meridian book (paper-back), appearing first in 1959, has made readily available the survey of Jewish thought. The author is best known in the *Commentary on the New Testament* by Strack and Billerbeck. In order to understand Judaism, one must understand the writings which hold a position of authority along with or even above the canonical writings. Judaism holds that "oral law" and "written law" form a comprehensive unit. Without this tenet Judaism would be radically changed. This introduction seeks to explain the fundamentals of rabbinics.

John Joseph Owens

Interpretationes. Edited by Mils Alstrup Dahl and Arvid S. Kapelrud. Oslo: Forlaget Land Og Kirke, 1955. 183 pages.

Sigmund Mowinckel ranks among the most important authors in the realm of the Old Testament. In recognition of his seventieth birthday fifteen outstanding scholars have contributed to his *Festschrift*. Among these eminent writers are Albright, Alt, Birkeland, Eissfeldt, Humbert, Hvidberg, A. R. Johnson, Kapelrud, Lindblom, C. R. North, Noth, and Pedersen. Eight of the articles are in English, six are in German, and one is in French. Some are highly technical but all are valuable to the Old Testament teacher. There is a variety of subjects—including Language, Interpretation, and Origin of Baptism.

John Joseph Owens

Index to Periodical Literature on the Apostle Paul. By Bruce M. Metzger. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960. 183 pages. \$4.00.

This is Volume I of a proposed series edited by Dr. Metzger under the title *New Testament Tools and Studies*. Volume II in process of printing is entitled *Concordance to the Distinctive Greek Text of Codex Bezae*. This gives the review reader an idea of the scholarly stature of the proposed series. The obvious design is to aid students engaged in New Testament research. This first volume

begins with a comprehensive list of theological periodicals of America and Europe. Every periodical in the list is indexed by authors and articles from the beginning of the periodical to the end of 1957. The articles are listed under the following chapter divisions with further subject divisions within the chapters: Bibliographical Articles on Paul; Historical Studies on the Life of Paul; Critical Studies in Pauline Literature; Pauline Apocrypha; Theological Studies; The History of the Interpretation of Paul and His Works. For anyone engaged in research on Paul the value of this volume simply cannot be overestimated.

Ray Summers

The Gnostic Religion. The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity. By Hans Jonas. Boston: Beacon Press, 1958. 302 pages. \$6.00.

The Gnostic Problem. A Study of the Relations between Hellenistic Judaism and the Gnostic Heresy. By R. McL. Wilson. London: A. R. Mowbray and Co. Limited, 1958. 274 pages. 35 shillings.

Gnosticism and Early Christianity. By R. M. Grant. Lectures on the History of Religions sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, New Series, Number 5. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. 227 pages. \$4.50.

The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics. An Introduction to the Gnostic Coptic Manuscripts discovered at Chenoboskion. By Jean Doresse. Translated by Philip Mairé from the French edition, *Les livres secrets des Gnostiques d'Égypte*. London: Hollis and Carter, 1960. 445 pages. 42 shillings.

Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings. A preliminary survey of the Nag Hammadi find. By W. C. van Unnik. Translated by H. H. Hoskins from the Dutch edition, *Openbaringen uit Egyptisch Zand*. Studies in Biblical Theology, 30. Naperville, Illinois: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1960. 96 pages. \$1.75.

The Secret Sayings of Jesus. By Robert M. Grant in collaboration with David Noel Freedman. With an English Translation of the Gospel of Thomas by William R. Schoedel. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960. 206 pages. \$3.50.

The Gospel of Truth. A Valentinian Meditation on the Gospel. Translation from the Coptic and Commentary by Kendrick Grobel. New York: Abingdon Press, 1960. 206 pages. \$4.00.

Discovery of an ancient library in Upper Egypt has sparked a revival of studies in Gnosticism. Elsewhere in this issue, an introductory article surveys this development, indicating relevant bibliography in the footnotes. This review will introduce the reader to a sampling of recent books in this area.

Prior to the Nag Hammadi discovery, interest in Gnosticism for New Testament research flourished in a German school associated most prominently with Rudolf Bultmann. One of Bultmann's earlier students, Hans Jonas, undertook a definitive study of Gnosticism which his mentor declared, in the preface, to be of surpassing importance. This work, which is indispensable to an understanding of Bultmann, appeared in German as *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*

(Vol. I, 1934; Vol. II, 1954; Vol. III, as yet unpublished). Now, in *The Gnostic Religion*, Jonas has made available in English a compressed, non-technical treatment of the essential viewpoints and conclusions found in his larger work. This later treatment is comprehensive in scope, profound in scholarship, and theological in purpose. It seeks to penetrate behind diverse historical phenomena to the essential nature of Gnosticism. This means that chronology is often blurred in the creation of a composite picture, and that many sources are drawn upon with considerable freedom. However, this approach enables Jonas to depict the religious and philosophical mood of Gnosticism in a penetrating manner seldom found in more "objective" studies.

Two books have appeared recently which study the relationship of Gnosticism and Judaism. Wilson's *The Gnostic Problem* is a very general treatment which reads like the doctoral dissertation that it is. Writing with the caution of a beginner, Wilson constantly qualifies his assertions so as to guard them from possible objections, thus blunting the cutting edge of his contribution. He does demonstrate that syncretistic tendencies in diaspora Judaism made possible a limited infiltration of Gnosticism. Quite different is the spirited study of Robert Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, where the thesis is argued incisively that Gnosticism arose out of the frustration of unfulfilled Jewish apocalyptic hopes. In contending for his hypothesis, Grant has been forced to deal with the problem too narrowly, but he has opened up fruitful lines for a fresh reassessment of Judaism's contribution to the emergence of Gnosticism.

Because of their date and particular approach, the three books considered thus far scarcely make mention of the Chenoboskion Library. The next two books, however, deal specifically with the discovery at Nag Hammadi. The first, by Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, is the most detailed treatment now in print. The presentation is often tedious and highly involved, and the translation is noticeably deficient at points, but the book is still indispensable for a thorough study of the subject. Quite in contrast, van Unnik's *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings* is one of the briefest and clearest surveys yet written. For the average New Testament student, it is easily the most effective report now available. Doresse has done for Nag Hammadi something of what Burrows did for Qumran, whereas van Unnik supplies a rapid survey more like the sketches of Cross and Milik on the Scrolls.

The last two books deal with the two most important individual treatises yet to be studied from Nag Hammadi. Grant and Freedman, in *The Secret Sayings of Jesus*, have provided a splendid introduction and commentary on the Gospel of Thomas, while Kendrick Grobel has rendered a substantial contribution to the difficult task of translating and understanding *The Gospel of Truth*. Grant and Grobel are leading American scholars in Gnostic studies, and both have done their work well. In this connection it should be mentioned that two books which may be highly recommended for study

in this area have been written too recently to be included in this review, but will be published shortly: Bertil Gartner, *The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas* (Collins and Harpers); and R. McL. Wilson, *Studies in the Gospel of Thomas* (Mowbray). Rapid advances in Gnostic studies require the student to be alert to the latest bibliographical resources in the field. Most studies written before 1960 will soon be obsolete.

William E. Hull

The Layman's Bible Commentary. **Introduction to the Bible.** Vol. 1. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1959. 171 pages. \$2.00.

The Layman's Bible Commentary. **Psalms.** Vol. 9. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1960. 192 pages. \$2.00.

The Layman's Bible Commentary. **Jeremiah, Lamentations.** Vol. 12. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1960. 148 pages. \$2.00.

The Layman's Bible Commentary. **Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah.** Vol. 14. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1959. 176 pages. \$2.00 (4 or more, \$1.75 each).

The Layman's Bible Commentary seeks to make available to the non-technical student of the Bible the "most helpful explanation of fundamental matters in simple, up-to-date terms." This set must be used as guide and aid to the study of the Bible. It is not to be substituted for or used apart from the study of the Bible text itself. It does not print the Scripture passages and urges the layman to study the Word and use this commentary for the understanding of the portion which he is studying. These books will be effective in proportion only to the actual use of the Bible. The writers of the series are first-rate scholars who write in a very lucid manner.

In Volume 1 the reader is introduced to the study of the book in five chapters. *What is the Bible?* by Dr. Kenneth Foreman of the Louisville Presbyterian Seminary; *The History of the People of God* by Dr. Balmer H. Kelly, the editor of this series; *The Message of the Bible*, by Dr. A. B. Rhodes, of the Louisville Presbyterian Seminary; *How We Got Our Bible* by Dr. Bruce M. Metzger; the final chapter, *How to Study the Bible* by Dr. Donald G. Miller gives an excellent group of suggestions which, if followed, will make one's study much more meaningful.

Volume 9 was written by Dr. A. B. Rhodes who is Th.D. graduate of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Professor of Old Testament in the Louisville Presbyterian Seminary, and is Associate Editor of this entire series of commentaries. This volume is the result of the author's personal interest in the Psalms. His Th.D. dissertation was centered in the Psalter. The shortcoming of this volume is that it is much too short. But within the allotted pages, Professor Rhodes has provided an outstanding guide to the understanding of the book as a whole and also of the thought of the individual Psalms.

Continuing this excellent series, Dr. Howard Kuist, Professor of Biblical Theology and English Bible in the Princeton Theological Seminary, writes on Jeremiah and Lamentations. The introduction to the book of Jeremiah is exceptionally fine. If a layman will study this background, he will gain the important historical setting for the preaching of Jeremiah during a very turbulent age.

The volume which contains Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, and Jonah, was written by Dr. Jacob M. Myers, Professor of Old Testament in the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, Pa. Each book is treated as an individual unit. A scholarly yet simple introduction is provided with a progressive evangelical approach.

This series will not satisfy the well-trained pastor but it was not designed to do so. It will be excellent to be placed in the hand of a layman who is seeking understanding of the Scripture and who is not satisfied with "pious platitudes." Each of the volumes will contain expository comments on selected sections or books. These volumes provide the fruit of latest scholarly works in understandable terms. These books should be included in our church libraries, also.

John Joseph Owens

The Biblical Expositor. Vol. One: Genesis to Esther. Vol. Two: Job to Malachi. Vol. Three: Matthew to Revelation. Consulting Editor, Carl F. H. Henry. Philadelphia: A. J. Holman Company. 402 pages, 402 pages, 500 pages. \$6.95 per volume.

These three volumes give an overall survey of each book of the Bible. There is no aim to comment on individual verses. Many of the articles give a brief introduction to the content. The entire series appears to put forth a particular view without presenting full evidence. In the brief space of this review it is not possible to examine every area. Two areas will suggest the direction of this commentary. The date of the exodus is given as 1446 B.C. and is supported by Garstang's evidence with no mention, for instance, of the latest archaeological evidence found by Kathleen Kenyon. The approach is that if there is no evidence to support their view, they are confident that such evidence will be found someday. Another citation of the viewpoint expressed in this commentary is that of the book of Daniel. This series takes the position that "both Judaism and Christendom have received Daniel into the Canon as a genuine work of the period of which it alleges to speak, the sixth century B.C., its author, Daniel." The Consulting Editor is Carl F. H. Henry, editor of *Christianity Today*. Among the contributors are Wilbur M. Smith, Oswald T. Allis, Merrill F. Unger, Fred E. Young, Kyle M. Yates, Sr., Edward J. Young, George E. Ladd, Fred L. Fisher, and E. Earle Ellis.

John Joseph Owens

Epworth Preacher's Commentaries. **Isaiah 1-39.** By J. Yeoman Muckle. London: The Epworth Press, 1960. 135 pages. \$2.75.

Epworth Preacher's Commentaries. **Isaiah 40-66.** By S. Clive Thexton. London: The Epworth Press, 1960. 160 pages. \$2.75.

It is gratifying to see books which make full use of the fruit of the latest in real scholarship without minimizing the vitality of the Christian message. The volume of Isaiah 1-39 was written by J. Yeoman Muckle, tutor in Old Testament Language and Literature at Hartley Victoria College, Manchester, England. The volume of Isaiah 40-66 was written by S. Clive Thexton, tutor at Richmond College (England) and co-editor with Dr. Norman H. Snaith of these Old Testament Commentaries. Historical and critical problems are treated briefly but in a very straight-forward manner where such information will bring the interpretation into sharper focus. The exegesis in Isaiah 1-39 is the more reliable. Each section of the complete outline in both volumes is given a brief comment which brings out the historical, spiritual, and homiletical truth. If one desires an exegetical study in depth beyond the survey he should use Skinner's commentary. But these volumes will be very useful in a church library. Most seminary-trained preachers will find a need for a more thorough treatment than these since they will have studied the materials contained in these two volumes. Teachers in our Sunday schools would profit from studying these volumes.

John Joseph Owens

Christian Baptism. Edited by A. Gilmore. Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1959. 343 pages. \$4.50.

One often gets the impression, especially among Baptists in America, that we are called upon to choose between a "mere symbolism" and magic sacramentalism in the interpretation of Christian baptism. Yet both views fail to express the dynamic and personal qualities found in the New Testament teaching. A group of British Baptists have made a considerable contribution in correcting these circumstances, and it is hoped that their essays will stimulate a re-examination of both the meaning and practice of baptism in our time. As a guide to the Biblical materials, a survey of historical discussions, and the significant studies of the present, this is the best book available in any language. The brilliant chapter on Paul by G. R. Beasley-Murray is alone sufficient to stimulate a series of serious studies. To this symposium should be added the more recent work by R. E. O. White, *The Biblical Doctrine of Initiation* (Eerdmans, 1960) and there is then material aplenty to pave the way toward a restoration and a deeper interpretation of Christian baptism.

Dale Moody

Luther's Works. Volume 14, Selected Psalms III. By Jaroslav Pelikan, Ed. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958. 368 pages. \$5.00

Martin Luther loved the Psalter more than any other book in the Bible. In this fourteenth volume of reprints of his works, there is his commentary on Psalms 117, 118, 147, 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143, 37, 62, 94, 109, 1, and 2. When all of the volumes on the Psalms by Martin Luther appear his understanding of the uniqueness of the Psalms will be clear. Those who do not read medieval Latin or sixteenth century German will have available the thoughts of the inimitable reformer.

John Joseph Owens

Ancient Christian Writers: St. Augustine on the Psalms. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1960. 354 pages. \$4.50.

The lengthiest "exegetical" work of Augustine was *Enarrationes in psalmos*. This volume is a translation of the portion of that work which contains the notes and commentary as Psalms one through twenty-nine. In these sermons the reader is plunged into the depths of the allegorical interpretation of the Scripture. The comments reveal an astounding lack of attention to exegetical interpretation, the original language, of the *Sitz im Leben* of each Psalm.

John Joseph Owens

Aristotle. By John Herman Randall, Jr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. 309 pages. \$5.00.

This is the first definitive study of Aristotle since the solid works of W. D. Ross and Werner Jaeger. Randall claims that his study is more purely philosophical than theirs, which he regards as primarily philological. Be that as it may, this volume is a very significant contribution to the understanding of the great Greek. Our author does not approach Aristotle from the Platonist angle, and consequently takes a new approach. He studies the more mature Aristotle, employing literary critical analysis to support his case, and argues that there is a strong non-Platonic element in Aristotle's thinking. The Greek philosopher is thus portrayed as a naturalist and humanist, desiring to understand the world process, but not by any idealistic scheme like the Platonists. Professor Randall claims that the most distinctive strain in Aristotle's thought is bound up with his concern to understand life as the central element in the natural order, to understand knowledge as the mode by which the mind lays hold of what is experienced, and to understand language as the instrument employed by the mind to express what has been grasped by reason. This is a new slant on Aristotle, well supported by a detailed study of his writings. Its distinguished author has placed the scholarly world in his debt for a study with which all future students of Aristotle must reckon.

Eric C. Rust

The Life and Thought of Kierkegaard for Every Man. By John A. Gates. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960. 172 pages. \$3.75.

Books on Kierkegaard abound, and this has nothing new to offer except as an attempt to make the great Dane understandable to the layman. The study acquaints the reader with the thought of Kierkegaard against the background of his life. From this setting the existentialist thinking emerges with clarity. A judicious use is made of the most significant writings—The Journal, Either-Or, Stages on Life's Way, Fear and Trembling, The Concept of Dread, The Concluding Unscientific Postscript, Philosophical Fragments, and Christian Discourses. The result is a book which should help the layman and the busy minister to grasp the thought and Christian significance of one who has profoundly influenced the thought of our time.

E. C. Rust

The Hinge of History. By Carl Michalson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959. 256 pages. \$3.95.

This book by the Professor of Systematic Theology in the Theological School of Drew University is a disappointing venture. It is an attempt to offer an existential interpretation of the Christian faith, contending that theology should be approached by a historical method rather than by one akin to the natural sciences. Michalson differentiates well between the inner and outer aspects of history, but, after a good beginning, leaves his reader confused. Are the revelatory events of the Christian faith in the stream of world history? At times Michalson seems to suggest not. What meaning have they then as history, for revelatory history is then deprived of any objectivity and bound up with the subjectivity of the believer. This is evident in the treatment of the historicity of Christ and the reality of the resurrection. This is a book with great promise which somehow never achieves.

E. C. Rust

Dilthey's Philosophy of Existence. Translation and Introduction by W. Kluback and M. Weinbaum. New York: Bookman Associates, 1957. 74 pages.

Dilthey belongs very much to our modern period. Since his death his philosophical stature has grown. His differentiation between "knowledge" and "understanding" has been influential in the thought of R. G. Collingwood and other authorities on the philosophy of history. He has made a lasting contribution to sociological thinking. In this slight volume we have a translation of his paper dealing with the significance of the world view or *Weltanschauung* in philosophical thought. His study of various types of world view and of the nature of naturalism and various forms of idealism is a significant contribution to a problem which has become central in much contemporary philosophical thinking. We can be grateful for

this translation, and are able to assess better the influence of Dilthey on existentialist thought in the work of thinkers like Heidegger and Ortega y Gasset.

E. C. Rust

Language and Christian Belief. By John Wilson. London: Macmillan and Co., 1958. 135 pages.

A valuable little book, written by a scholar of New College, Oxford who is now a teacher of Divinity in the pre-University classes at the King's School, Canterbury. The book shows a first-hand acquaintance with the contemporary analysis of language and of religious language in particular. It covers the whole area of Christian doctrine in its elaboration of the significance of religious language. It also ventures into the apologetic realm by treating the problems raised by authority, the knowledge of God, and science and religion. This is a valuable book for the busy minister who desires to keep up with modern discussion. It is also to be commended to B.S.U. directors and to students on our college campuses.

Eric C. Rust

Philosophy for a Time of Crisis. By A. Koch. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1959. 382 pages. \$5.95.

The author of this book is Associate Professor of History in the University of California and is also a distinguished student of philosophy. This book endeavors to face the crisis of our time; it presents a good analysis of the challenge of dialectical materialism. It musters up fifteen thinkers who, in differing ways, have a philosophy of freedom to meet this challenge, offering selections from their writings—six philosophical writers, four religious philosophers, and five humanistic philosophers. The selection is entirely catholic. It includes Silone, Toynbee, Einstein, Fromm, Maritain, Buber, Niebuhr, Radhakrishnan, Sartre, Jaspers. One wonders at the inclusion of some of the writers—Popper, Hook, Forster and even Bertrand Russell. It is a miscellaneous rag bag, and the attempt at a synthesis entitled "Philosophy for our Time" reflects this. This book has nothing particularly distinctive to recommend it.

Eric C. Rust

Symbolism in the Bible and the Church. By G. Cope. London: S.C.M. Press, 1959. 287 pages.

This is yet another addition to the growing literature on symbolism in theological thought and religious practice. The author discusses the Biblical imagery and elaborates its significance in relation to the depth psychology of Jung and the latter's theory of archetypal images. He has acute observations as to the significance of sex and sexual imagery in religious symbolism and closes with an excellent chapter on symbolism in relation to Christian worship. The value of the book lies chiefly in the use it makes of Jung's archetypal images and in relating them to the Biblical myths and images. The author is an Anglican priest

Eric C. Rust

Truth and Symbol. By Karl Jaspers. Translated by J. T. Wilde, W. Kluback, and W. Kimmel. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1959. 79 pages. \$3.25.

In this valuable little monograph, the famous existentialist philosopher attempts to resolve the subject-object dichotomy introduced into philosophical thought by Descartes. He does so by discussing the significance of cypher and symbol in the approach to reality. Characteristically Jaspers denies absolute validity to any historical revelation, including that claimed by the Judaeo-Christian faith. He discusses the problem in the light of his own understanding of transcendence, and declares that "to each man must be given from Him what he becomes through the fact that he begins to perceive Being and how he begins to perceive it. The communication of philosophy does not give essential reality but makes it possible to become aware of it." This is Jaspers' way of speaking of the grace and the hiddenness of God, and all understanding of religious myth and symbolism is grounded in these twin concepts, even at the Christian level.

Eric C. Rust

The Transcendence of God. By Edward Farley. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960. 255 pages. \$5.00.

The author is Assistant Professor of Philosophy and Religion at DePauw University. This volume studies the reaction in philosophical theology from immanentism to an emphasis on the divine transcendence. Five representative thinkers are chosen—Reinhold Niebuhr, Paul Tillich, Karl Heim, Charles Hartshorn and Henry Nelson Wieman. The last two thinkers are panentheistic and Whiteheadian to a degree that gives the idea of transcendence a peculiar twist in their thinking. The author takes note of this. His treatment of Heim, so often sadly neglected by American scholars, is a valuable chapter. In the final chapter, Dr. Farley elaborates a constructive view of the divine transcendence, pointing out the distortions to which our understanding of it is subjected. He finally says that "the astounding thing, the absolutely incredible thing, is that God by granting to us a historical revelation, has placed himself 'at the mercy' of the errors, the sins, and the relativities of human interpretation." This book is a valuable addition to studies in philosophical theology.

E. C. Rust

J. G. Hamann: A Study in Christian Existence. By Ronald Gregor Smith. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960. 270 pages. \$5.00.

J. G. Hamann is a little known but significant German thinker of the eighteenth century. He stands as a pioneer in the modern existentialist movement, and exercised a profound influence on Søren Kierkegaard. For the latter reason alone, more understanding of his thought is desirable. We can be grateful to the Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University for his excellent monograph. So

much that characterizes modern philosophical thought can be discovered in Hamann. Not only as an existentialist does he stand with Pascal at the fountain head of a movement which, channeled through Kierkegaard, has become so significant in our time. He was also a pioneer upon the nature of language and has much to say about words and their theological import that fits in with another philosophical preoccupation of our time. This book is made more valuable by the addition of some selections from Hamann's writings.

E. C. Rust

Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. By Claude Tresmontant. Translated by Salvatore A. Hanasio. Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1959. 128 pages. \$3.00.

This volume endeavors to present in a systematic way the thought of one of the great thinkers of our time. De Chardin's *The Phenomenon of Man* has sprung upon our Western world in the last decade with great impact. An anthropologist and evolutionist but also a Catholic priest, a scientist who was also a devout Christian, Teilhard de Chardin endeavored to present the evolution of man in Christian dress and to offer a modern form of the history of creation. In this volume, the implications of his thought are clearly enunciated, and the man stands forth as a worthy compatriot of and Christian complement to Henri Bergsen. Our review of *The Phenomenon of Man* in an earlier issue of the *Review and Expositor* discussed de Chardin's basic philosophy. Tresmontant has clarified the issues involved and contributed an excellent section on the Jesuit anthropologist's theology, including a stimulating chapter on his Christology. No one interested in contemporary apologetic thought ought to miss reading this volume.

E. C. Rust

The Restoration Principle. By Alfred T. DeGroot. St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1960. 191 pages. \$4.00

The motif of restoration has been prominent in the Christian movement which has stemmed from the work of Thomas and Alexander Campbell, Barton W. Stone, Walter Scott, and their associates. Professor DeGroot of Texas Christian University has sought to trace this motif from Biblical times to the present. At times the search becomes the reporting of the non-existence of the restoration motif. Indeed the ante-Nicene writers reveal a "variegated restorationism" which is more often ethical, mystical, and theological in nature than institutional (as in the case of nineteenth century restorationists). Nor were the two Campbells, Stone, and Scott precisely definitive in their restoration plea, DeGroot asserts.

The author's major purpose is to delineate the restoration objectives needed by Disciples of Christ today. Prominent in his sixfold listing of objectives are the cultivation of Christian unity and "the vision of ends . . . rather than any deification or ossification of

means to those ends" (pp. 172, 169). The Churches of Christ and the Independents (separated from the Disciples of Christ since 1955), according to DeGroot, err in the direction of ossification.

To paraphrase George Tyrrell, one can see at the bottom of DeGroot's well neither the image of the apostles nor the likeness of the Campbells so much as the profile of Adolf Harnack!

James Leo Garrett

By John Calvin. Edited by Hugh T. Kerr. New York: Association Press, 1960. 124 pages. 50¢.

This paperback edited by Professor Kerr of Princeton Theological Seminary is designed to introduce the Christian layman to the writings of Calvin. The selections include key definitional paragraphs from the *Institutes*, excerpts from three treatises and from Calvin's letters, a prayer, a hymn, and his last will and testament. The restrained sarcasm of "An Inventory of Relics" is worth the price of the book.

James Leo Garrett

The Theology of the Major Sects. By John H. Gerstner. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1960. 206 pages. \$3.95.

This book may be helpful to those desiring information in capsule form on the several "sects" treated: Seventh-day Adventism, Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormonism, Liberalism, New Thought, Christian Science, Spiritualism, Theosophy, and Faith Healing. In the last analysis the work may be regarded as a brief introduction to the groups named and possessing limited value. Its value lies primarily in its use as a handbook, designed to provide elementary information on certain religious movements. The book is composed of two parts: first, nine short chapters providing sketchy historical and theological data on the "sects"; and second, six appendices outlining in condensed and graphic form certain basic theological features of the groups. At the end of the book the author, who is Professor of Church History at Pittsburg Theological Seminary, has added an extensive and useful bibliography on each of the groups discussed.

W. Morgan Patterson

Varieties of Protestantism. By John B. Cobb, Jr., Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960. 271 pages. \$4.50.

The distinctive feature of this work by the professor of Systematic Theology at Southern California School of Theology is the abandonment of the conventional categories for studying Protestantism. The author has produced an imaginative classification of the numerous groups composing the Protestant tradition. His treatment seeks to recognize the diversity of Protestantism, but at the same time not to identify that diversity with organized groups. He has cut across denominational lines to distinguish Protestant traditions by "their inner meaning to believers," that is "in terms of their distinc-

tively religious character" (p. 14). The types defined by the author are: Reformation Protestantism: (1) Lutheranism and (2) Calvinism; churchly Protestantism: (3) authoritarian and (4) liturgical Protestantism; individualistic Protestantism: (5) biblicism and (6) experientialism; liberal Protestantism: (7) mystical Protestantism, (8) the quest for abundant life, and (9) the social gospel. Each of these nine is isolated and presented "appreciatively, uncritically, from the point of view of the assumption of its truth" (p. 17). Baptists are placed in "the moderate Biblicist position," although it is conceded that "the two can by no means be identified" (p. 115). While no footnotes appear in the book (by design), the author has appended to each chapter for further reading valuable annotated bibliographies. The concluding chapter is devoted to a discussion of the meaning of Protestant diversity as well as an invitation to increased unity.

W. Morgan Patterson

Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries. By Rufus M. Jones. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959. 362 pages. \$1.95.

This is another of many fine out-of-print classics that are being made available in reprints for renewed circulation. Initially published in 1914, this work by the eminent Quaker philosopher and Christian statesman has been widely read and lauded. A prolific writer, Dr. Jones frequently pursued the theme of Christian mysticism, a subject in which he manifested keen interest and possessed real competence. In this work the author has sought to give an exposition of the thought and distinctiveness of a number of prominent writers and leaders of the Reformation period. Each of them stood for varying kinds of reform in the religious life of his day. Some of those treated by the author are Hans Denck, Sebastian Franck, Caspar Schwenckfeld, Jacob Boehme, *et al.* The author by this work and others gave impetus to the developing interest in Anabaptism.

W. Morgan Patterson

Community, State and Church. By Karl Barth. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1960. 193 pages. 95¢.

One of the real values of this book is the introduction entitled "The Social Philosophy of Karl Barth" by Professor Will Herberg, graduate professor of Judaic studies and social philosophy at Drew University. In this introduction Herberg presents an incisive and illuminating interpretation of Barth's theological orientation, his teaching about society, state, and church, along with a discussion of his encounter with national-socialism and communism. Herberg renders a real service in tracing the intellectual pilgrimage of Barth in terms of the "Pre-Barthian," "Proto-Barthian," "Early-Barthian," and "Late-Barthian" Barth. This serves to correct the image of Barth which many English readers possess derived from the early works of Barth.

The three essays of the volume by Barth—"Gospel and Law"

(1935), "Church and State" (1938), and "The Christian Community and the Civil Community" (1946)—contain his answers to the challenge of Nazism and Communism. The essay on "The Christian Community and Civil Community" contains the later Barthian doctrine of the state in which he develops his "theory of correspondence." It is interesting to note that Barth's concern about the doctrine of the church led him to re-enter the political area after his interest in social questions had gone underground for a period.

Besides the excellent introduction on the social philosophy of Barth and the three essays, there is a selected bibliography of the chief writings of Barth available in English. All may be had in paperback for only 95¢!

Henlee Barnette

The Protestant Search for Political Realism 1919-1941. By Donald B. Meyer. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960. 482 pages. \$6.75.

Donald Meyer, Associate Professor of History, University of California, has produced in this volume one of the most scholarly and comprehensive studies of the effort of American Protestant theologians to achieve a more realistic political policy. Among the men in this endeavor were Reinhold Niebuhr, Sherwood Eddy, John Bennett, and a host of others. Fifty-seven pages of notes and a bibliography appear at the end of the volume. If the student will read this book along with *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism 1865-1915*, by Charles Howard Hopkins; *Revivalism and Social Reform*, by Timothy L. Smith; and *The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel* by Paul A. Carter; he will have a thorough knowledge of American social Christianity.

Henlee Barnette

Saints and Society. By Earle E. Cairns. Chicago: Moody Press, 1960. 192 pages. \$3.25.

What is the relation of the Christian to his social context? Is the evangelical faith a factor in social improvement? These questions are explored in Cairns' book which deals with the social impact of the eighteenth century English revivals. The discussion centers around the reforms that followed those revivals, with special attention to the problems of the slave and industrial classes, and the inhumane treatment of the imprisoned, the mentally ill and other exploited groups. Through the work of Wesley, Wilberforce, Shaftesbury, and others, specific reforms were introduced in all these areas. The book, after disclosing the strategy of the eighteenth century English Churches, proceeds to outline a way of social action for the churches of our own century. The author, though theologically conservative, sees the Christian gospel as imposing both a personal and a social demand upon Christians.

Nolan P. Howington

A Christian Commentary on Communism. By Edward Rogers. London: The Epworth Press, 1951. Issued in Wyvern Books Series in 1959. 223 pages. 85¢.

Communism is "a complicated political theory with a long history," so writes the author of this book. His "commentary" begins with Plato and ends with Stalin, dealing thus with the various forms of communism, its antecedents and early advocates, its materialist conception of history, its solid front against religion, and its emergence as a world force. Rogers' final chapter suggests some of the fallacies of communism's philosophy (pseudo-religion is perhaps more accurate than philosophy): An unrealistic view of man, a preoccupation with material values to the exclusion of spiritual values, and so a false reading of history. The author feels that Communism's power bears witness, not to Christianity's inherent weakness but to the church's neglect of the dynamic and revolutionary message of the gospel.

Nolan P. Howington

Social Change In Rural Society. By Everett M. Rogers. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960. xi plus 490 pages. \$6.75.

This book is designed to serve as an introduction to rural sociology for the person unfamiliar with professional sociological language. Rural society is treated in the United States as a whole, with trends in all major regions identified. The author purposes to set forth the ways in which rural life has changed within the past twenty-five years, and the specific trends that continue. As is expected in this type work, the author makes a scientific study of rural people in group relationships. Part I of the book consists of a clear introduction which reveals the sociological approach. Part II is an analysis of culture, personality, group relationships, and social classes. In many respects the most helpful material for leaders in rural life is found in Part III, "Rural Institutions in Action." Comprehensive studies are made of communities, the family, the church, rural schools, farm organizations, the role of the government in agriculture, and the business of farming. A concluding section in five chapters treats problems faced in rural life today and the meaning of changes and continuing trends. Not only does this book exhibit careful research, but here is first-class interpretative sociology, as the author indicates both the facts and their meaning.

G. Willis Bennett

International Conflict In The Twentieth Century. By Herbert Butterfield. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960. 123 pages. \$3.00.

This book, one of the series of Religious Perspective books, attempts to examine the processes of history and to set forth the principles underlying foreign policy. In clarifying some of the ethical issues involved, the author stresses the role of Christianity today. He believes that the virtues associated with Christianity should not

be disassociated with politics. This means the governments should examine their own misdeeds, past and present, and should not insist upon the *status quo* when it should be revised in line with justice. To fail to do so, a nation might find itself prepared for the wrong kind of a war and disarmed for the conflict of ideals. A study of historical processes, Butterfield contends, will aid in devising a science of politics for international affairs. Such a study will reveal the place of ideals, the importance of a single act, the role of a third party, and provide valuable insights to the present situation. If a *détente* in the current conflict is to be realized, certain objectives must be pursued. In analyzing them, the author sees the need for the overthrow of fear and the introduction of the new factor of love ". . . which is the equivalent of creative imagination" (p. 123). The provocative ideas contained in this book are apt to claim our attention either now as we read, or later as we are forced to face them in history. This book with insight beyond its day deserves to be read.

G. Willis Bennett

Power and Morality. By Pitirim A. Sorokin and Walter A. Lunden. Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1959. 204 pages. \$3.50.

The authors make a historical study of power as used by rulers, persons in places of governmental responsibility charged with guiding the affairs of all. They attempt to document the belief that "power tends to corrupt," and to indicate what will be required if corrupt rulers are to be relieved of power and if government is to be put in the hands of those who can be trusted.

The first five chapters are devoted to historical analysis and documentation. The conclusion is that rulers cannot be trusted with the life and well-being of mankind today. There is too much corruption and criminality at the present, as there has been throughout history. The last seven chapters are devoted to problems related to the realization of a transformation in governmental leadership. Politicians must be replaced by the leadership of "scientists, saints, and sages." Total and universal disarmament must be achieved. The "disintegrating Sensate order" must give way to a new "Integral type of government." All of this demands the mobilization of the creative forces of humanity.

The book, strongly suggestive of many of Sorokin's previous works and relying heavily upon them, presents two amazing pictures: one of dark hopelessness and the other of an idealistic state. It is difficult to see how one can share both views at the same time. Certainly there seems to be little hope of moving from one extreme to the other and this the authors recognize also as they suggest the realization of the perfect state will be possible only IF time does not run out.

Although the book is not as scientific as the authors would have one believe, it is intensely stimulating and will serve to alert one to the challenge of the present hour.

G. Willis Bennett

Out of the Depths. By Anton Boisen. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960. 216 pages. \$4.00.

Anton Boisen is the pioneer in Clinical Pastoral Education. *Out of the Depths* describes the early days of Clinical Pastoral Education and the man who was responsible for its inception.

Dr. Boisen's presentation of his new adventure in theological education is paralleled by an autobiographical account of his own exploration in the little-known country of mental illness. *Out of the Depths* describes the mental illness through which he struggled. His frustrations in love are akin to those of Kierkegaard. In both cases the world of religion and psychiatry has been blessed by the insights which these men have mined out of the depths of their personal crises.

Samuel Southard

The Self in Pilgrimage. By Earl Loomis. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960. 109 pages. \$3.00.

Dr. Loomis presents a poetical study of *The Self in Pilgrimage* from the point of view of a religiously oriented psychoanalyst. He is Professor in Psychiatry of Religion at Union Theological Seminary in New York. As a child psychiatrist, Dr. Loomis has presented a lucid section on infancy and childhood. As a mystic, he demonstrates careful interest in dreams and mysticism. As a mystic, he wanders without theological or cultural moorings of an explicit type. His emphasis is upon communion with God rather than upon conversion. As an analyst, Dr. Loomis still retains an unawakened acceptance of penis envy and the Oedipus complex in childhood.

Samuel Southard

The Essential Nature of New Testament Preaching. By Robert H. Mounce. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1960. 168 pages. \$3.50.

The challenge of the new theological frontiers proposed by Rudolph Bultmann, who has emphasized the necessity of translating the *Kerygma* into language acceptable to modern man, heightens the importance of this investigation. In his search for the ancient message, Professor Mounce acknowledges his debt to C. H. Dodd, yet he goes beyond Dodd in restatement of the ancient message of primitive Christianity in its modern relevance. At certain crucial points he finds himself at variance with Dodd. For example, he challenges Dodd's assertion that the unexpected delay of the Lord's return was the principal cause for the development of early Christian thought.

This investigation has led the author to the conclusion that relevancy does not inhere in the rapport of the Gospel with the spirit of the age, but with the needs of man. "As long as man is by nature enslaved to evil," he says, "so long will the *Kerygma* be vitally relevant to his greatest need."

The author everywhere states his case clearly; however, this is not a book whose significance can be grasped by a cursory reading. The book is marked by careful and detailed exegesis and by thorough knowledge of the most scholarly works that deal with the theme.

James W. Cox

Our Heavenly Father. By Helmut Thielicke. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960. 157 pages. \$3.00.

These sermons on the Lord's Prayer were written during the Second World War and immediately thereafter. Some of them were preached in the Church of the Hospitallers in Stuttgart when the building was intact. Two sermons were preached in the choir of the church after the building was ruined in the air raids, the latter sermon being interrupted by sirens and an air attack. In these sermons both the judgment and the mercy of God stand out in sharp definition. Theology comes alive. The hearer or the reader finds himself face to face and side by side with the One who gave the prayer. Thielicke says, "Absolutely everything depends on this one fact, that it is *Jesus Christ who teaches us this prayer*. . . . Every sermon on the Lord's Prayer must of necessity be a central preaching of Christ; otherwise it is romantic fantasy, nothing more."

These are moving messages, born as they were in the throes of national and international crisis. Such sermons, with their profound spiritual insights, could hardly have been produced in ordinary days and circumstances. Somber as were the times in which the author preached these sermons, the note of joy and praise is everywhere evident. Observing that the Lord's Prayer begins and ends with praise, Thielicke says, "Everything we pray for is fenced and enclosed with praise."

Those who read this volume will understand why this outstanding German theologian preaches to "one of the largest congregations in the world." These sermons will take their place with the author's previous volume of sermons in English, *The Waiting Father*, as examples of preaching that can teach the American preacher how he may better approach and perform his pulpit task by showing the relevance of the Biblical message for every human condition.

James W. Cox

I Believe in the Living God: Sermons on the Apostles' Creed. By Emil Brunner. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960. 160 pages. \$3.00.

These sermons on the Apostles' Creed are solidly based on passages from both the Old and the New Testaments. They are not a homiletical and popular presentation of dogmatics. They are, rather, down-to-earth expositions of chosen texts, suggested and reinforced throughout by the theological doctrines represented by the various affirmations of the Creed. In these sermons, Brunner does not

attempt to deal with some critical problems which readers of his volumes of systematic theology have encountered. He does not take the tools of the study into the pulpit, but it is evident that the tools have been skilfully employed. Professor Brunner first preached these sermons during World War II. The translator, the Reverend John Holden, expresses the hope that this book will "promote somewhat better relations between theology and homiletics," and encourage exploration of the questions on the boundary between the two disciplines. Brunner succeeds in making sermons that are clear, logical, and interesting without in any way exalting preaching as an "art" to the abasing of the understanding of preaching as proclamation of a message from God. Preaching of this kind—sharp with judgment and broad with mercy—would improve the gross homiletical product of any pulpit.

James W. Cox

The Dark Road to Triumph. By Clayton E. Williams. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1960. 110 pages. \$2.75.

This is a volume of sermons and meditations on the sufferings of our Lord. The author, pastor of the American Church in Paris, approaches the events of Passion Week and the Seven Words from the Cross with moving devotion. The skilfully illustrated messages are gems of poetic beauty, and they evince profound insight into the ways of God and men.

James W. Cox

Let Us Break Bread Together. By Fred D. Gealy. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1960. 143 pages. \$2.50.

These brief communion meditations by Professor Emeritus Gealy of the Perkins School of Theology were captured by on-the-spot recordings which were made without the knowledge of the speaker. The seventy-two meditations are based on Scripture passages and follow themes appropriate for every Sunday in the Christian Year and for numerous other celebrations.

James W. Cox

Creative Imagination in Preaching. By Webb B. Garrison. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1960. 174 pages. \$3.00.

Most preachers are greatly concerned about where to get good ideas and apt illustrations for their sermons. Many of these preachers will lean too heavily on the work of others. Some men will plod along on their own and preach impoverished sermons. Webb Garrison, Methodist minister, college president, and prolific writer, shows how to make half-dead sermons come alive with ideas and illustrations the preacher can discover for himself. He demonstrates how a dull imagination can be coaxed into creativity. For pastors who wish to add freshness and vitality to their sermons, this will be a helpful book.

James W. Cox

BOOKS RECEIVED

A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament. By G. W. Anderson. London: Duckworth & Co., Ltd. 1959. 260 pages.

The Cross Through the Open Tomb. By Donald Grey Barnhouse. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1961. 152 pages. \$3.00.

The Gospel of John. By V. Wayne Barton. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1960. 96 pages. \$1.75.

Creation and Fall. By Dietrich Bonhoeffer. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959. 96 pages. \$1.50.

The Gospel in the Old Testament. By Don Brandeis. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1960. 188 pages. \$3.95.

Better Church Finance. By Lawrence E. Brooks. Anderson, Ind.: The Warner Press, 1960. 64 pages. \$2.00.

The Discovery of Purpose. By Emile Cailliet. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959. 192 pages. \$3.50.

Histoire Documentaire De La Congregation Des Missionnaires Oblats De Marie-Immaculee Dans L'est Du Canada. By Gaston Carriere. Ottawa, Canada: Editions de l'Universite d'Ottawa, 1961. 359 pages.

A Christian View of Man and Things. By Gordon H. Clark. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960. 325 pages. \$2.45.

Eutychus. By Edmund P. Clowney, Editor. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960. 102 pages. \$2.50.

The Way of the Ascetics. By Tito Colliander. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961. 123 pages. \$2.50.

The Gospel According to Moses. By W. A. Criswell. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1960. 175 pages. \$2.50.

Archaeology and its Problems. By Siegfried J. DeLaet. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957. 136 pages. \$4.50.

The Design of the Scriptures. By Robert C. Dentan. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961. 276 pages. \$5.00.

In the Twilight of Western Thought. By Herman Dooyeweerd. Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1960. 195 pages. \$3.50.

Greek Word Order. By K. J. Dover. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1961. 72 pages. \$3.00.

A Concise Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms. By Frederick L. Eckel, Jr. Boston: Whittemore Associates, Inc., 1960. 64 pages.

Simple Sermons for Today's World. By W. Herschel Ford. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1960. 120 pages. \$1.95.

The Damnation of Theron Ware. By Harold Frederic. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961. 320 pages. 95c.

Reasons for Faith. By John H. Gerstner. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960. 245 pages. \$4.00.

Steps to Salvation. By John H. Gerstner. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960. 192 pages. \$3.95.

The Secret Sayings of Jesus. By Robert M. Grant. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961. 198 pages. 95c.

A Life After Death. By S. Ralph Harlow. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961. 264 pages. \$3.95.

Principles of Biblical Hermeneutics. By J. Edwin Hartill. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1960 reprint. 123 pages. \$3.50.

Stammerer's Tongue. By David Head. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960. 106 pages. \$2.50.

Between God and Man. By Abraham J. Heschel. New York: Harper & Bros., 1959. 279 pages. \$5.00.

King of the West Side. By William Heuman. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1961. 140 pages. \$2.50.

The Watchman. By C. Edward Hopkin. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1960. 117 pages. \$2.95.

Training for Triumph in Victorious Living. By Eric Hutchings. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1961. 127 pages. \$1.95.

Theology of the Old Testament. By Edmond Jacob. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. 368 pages. \$5.00.

This Faith We Live By. By James H. Jauncey. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1961. 157 pages. \$2.50.

The Christian and His Bible. By Douglas Johnson. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960, reprint. 158 pages. \$1.25.

A Living Sacrifice. By E. L. Kendall. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961. 174 pages. \$4.00.

The Passion Pilgrimage. By Erwin Kurth. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1961. 123 pages. \$1.50.

Yearbook of American Churches. By Benson Y. Landis, Editor. New York: Office of Publication and Distribution, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1961. 314 pages. \$5.95.

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